Class 270.1P Book C415 c2
General Theological Seminary Library
Chelsea Square, New York

Purchased from the fund bequeathed to the Seminary by
EUGENE AUGUSTUS HOFFMAN, D. D.
DEAN 1879-1902

A HISTORY OF 9

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

By the same Author

A History of the Christian Church from the Reformation to the Present Time. Crown 8vo. [*In the Press*

A HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

DURING THE

First Six Centuries.

BY

S. CHEETHAM, D.D., F.S.A.,
ARCHDEACON AND CANON OF ROCHESTER;
HONORARY FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
FELLOW AND EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1905

270.1P
C415
c2

46781

First Edition 1894
Reprinted 1898, 1905

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

ANTHONY WILSON THOROLD, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

This Book is Dedicated,

WITH GRATITUDE FOR MUCH KINDNESS,

BY HIS ATTACHED FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

The intention of this work is to provide a sketch of the History of the Church in the first six centuries of its existence, resting throughout on original authorities, and also giving references to the principal modern works which have dealt specially with its several portions. It is hoped that it may be found to supply a convenient summary for those who can give but little time to the study, and also to serve as a guide for those who desire to make themselves acquainted with the principal documents from which the History is drawn.

The narrow limits of a work like the present allow no room for discussion. The author is only able to give the conclusions at which, after considering the various authorities and arguments, he has himself arrived. In the first part of the book, in particular, a controversy underlies almost every sentence. In the notes however reference is made not only to those documents which confirm the statement in the text, but to those also which support a different view.

As it has been found impossible to give an intelligible view of the great dogmatic conflicts and of the growth of institutions without following their several courses to the neglect, for the time, of contemporary events, I have thought it well to enable my readers to gain some idea of the general state of the Church at any epoch by means of a Chronological Table. The maps will supply a ready means of learning at a glance the early spread of Christianity, and the territorial divisions which the Church adopted when it became the dominant religious power in the Empire.

The books which I have had constantly before me in writing this sketch are Schröckh's *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, Neander's *History of the Christian Religion and Church* (Torrey's translation), Gieseler's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Kurtz's *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Hase's *Lehrbuch* and *Kirchengeschichte auf der Grundlage akademischer Vorlesungen*, F. C. Baur's *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, Alzog's *Universalgeschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, and (in the latter part of the work) Möller's *Kirchengeschichte*. References to other Histories are given as occasion arises, but to these I owe a general help and guidance which cannot be acknowledged in detail. I have also to express my thanks to my friend Canon Colson, formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, for his kindness in reading the proofs and making many suggestions.

Rochester,
18 *Nov.*, 1893.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE
INTRODUCTION 1

PART I.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE EDICT OF MILAN (A.D. 313).

CHAPTER I.

THE PREPARATION OF THE WORLD.

1. Paganism 4
2. Judaism 7

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

1. The Lord's Ministry and the Church in Jerusalem . . 13
2. St Paul and the Gentile Church 16
3. St James the Just 21
4. St Peter 21
5. St John 24
6. The remaining Apostles 25
7. Organization and Worship of the Church 26
8. Sects and Heresies 31

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE CHURCH.

1. Jewish and Roman Persecution 34
2. The Intellectual Attack 49
3. The Christian Defence 53

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHURCH.

PAGE
1. Early Spread of the Gospel 58
2. Asiatic Churches 63
3. Alexandrian School 68
4. Africa 75
5. The Roman Church 80

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT DIVISIONS.

1. Judaic Christianity 86
2. Marcion 89
3. Montanism 92
4. Gnosticism 96
5. Manichæism 102
6. The Catholic Church 106

CHAPTER VI.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH AND ITS OPPONENTS.

1. Sources of Doctrine.

  A. Scripture 108
  B. The Rule of Faith 111
2. Faith in the One God 114
3. The Holy Trinity 115
4. Chiliasm 122

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

1. The Christian Ministry 124
2. Synods 137

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH.

1. Christian Life 142
2. Asceticism 144
3. Hermits 145
4. Discipline 147

PAGE
5. Ceremonies 151
6. Sacred Seasons 160
7. Architectural and other Art 165

PART II.

FROM THE EDICT OF MILAN (A.D. 313) TO THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT (A.D. 590).

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.

1. The Imperial Church 168
2. The Hierarchy 175
3. Patriarchs 181
4. Rome 186
5. Councils 196
6. The Fall of Paganism 199

CHAPTER X.

THEOLOGY AND THEOLOGIANS.

1. Literary Character of the Age 213
2. School of Antioch 215
3. School of Edessa 222
4. Alexandrian School 224
5. Latin Theology 239

CHAPTER XI.

CONTROVERSIES ON THE FAITH.

I. *Standards of Doctrine.*

1. Holy Scripture 252
2. The Church and its Tradition 254
3. Rules of Faith 255

II. *The Holy Trinity.*

The Arian Controversy 256

III. *The Incarnate Son.*

1. Apollinarianism 281
2. Nestorianism 283
3. Eutychianism 291
4. Monophysitism 295
IV. *Origenism* 304
V. *Priscillianism* 310
VI. *Pelagianism* 314

CHAPTER XII.

DISCIPLINE AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

PAGE
1. Law and Society 328
2. Donatism 338
3. Celibacy of the Clergy 348
4. Monachism 352

CHAPTER XIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL CEREMONIES AND ART.

I. *Rites and Ceremonies* 369
  1. Catechumenate and Baptism 370
  2. The Holy Eucharist 374
  3. The Hour-Offices 387
  4. Matrimony 388
  5. Care of the Sick and the Dead 390
  6. Ordination 392
II. *The Cycle of Festivals* 394
  1. The Week 395
  2. Easter and Lent 395
  3. The Saints and their Festivals 399
  4. Calendars 405
  5. Holy Places 406

III. *Architecture and Art.*

  1. Structure of Churches 407
  2. Pictures in Churches 409
  3. Sculpture 412

CHAPTER XIV.

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH.

I. *The Church in the East* 415
II. *The Conversion of the Teutons* 418
  1. The Goths 420
  2. The Franks 425
III. *The British Islands* 431
  1. The British Church 431
  2. St Patrick and the Irish Church 435
  3. St Columba and Iona 440

MAPS.

Ecclesiastical Dioceses
Countries reached by Christianity in the First Three Centuries } *at end of book.*

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

Conception of Church History.

Church distinguished from World, and the State; but not separated.

THE history of the Church of Christ is the history of a divine Life and a divine Society; of the working of the Spirit of Christ in the world, and of the formation and development of the Society which acknowledges Christ as its Head. The Church is distinguished from the World, in which man is regarded as discharging the functions only of natural life; and again from the State, which is primarily an organization for the purposes of political life. Yet the history of the Church cannot be treated as if it were wholly independent of the natural and political life of man; for the form which Christianity assumes in particular instances is largely influenced by the natural qualities and the general culture of those to whom it comes; and the Church, composed of men who are necessarily citizens of some state, cannot fail to influence the civil constitution of the states in which it exists, and in many cases to be itself modified, in matters not essential to its existence, by the civil government.

Work of the Church.

Persecution.

Heresy.

Schism.

The proper task and constant effort of the Church is, to realize in itself the life of Christ and to maintain His Truth; and again to bring all the world within the influence of Christian Life and Christian Truth. Church History has to relate the results of this constant effort; to describe the struggle of the Church to maintain at first its very existence, afterwards its proper functions and liberty, against the powers of the world, whether political or intellectual; to preserve its own purity, whether against those who would lower the standard of Christian life, or against those who would take away from the truth or add to it; its own unity against those who would rend it;

Missions. *Theology.*

its efforts constantly to extend its borders, and to consolidate the conquests which it has already won; and again it has to chronicle the changing and diverse thoughts which have clustered round the faith once for all delivered to the saints, and formed the Theology of the Christian Church.

Ancient-Classic Period

The present volume is concerned mainly with what may be called the Ancient-Classic Period; the period, that is, during which the old classical forms of literature and civilization were still in a great degree maintained. And this may conveniently be separated into two divisions.

up to A.D. 313.

1. The early struggles of the Church from its foundation to its victory under Constantine.

A.D. 313—590.

2. The period in which the now Imperial Church defined the Faith in the great Councils, and entered on its task of bringing under the yoke of Christ the northern tribes which everywhere burst in upon the Empire. This period may be roughly limited by the accession of Gregory the Great to the Papacy.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREPARATION OF THE WORLD[1].

Chap. I.

It was in the fulness of time that the Son of God came into the world. By many influences the way had been prepared before Him.

Roman Peace.

That the unity of the Empire and the general peace favoured the passage of the first preachers of the gospel was long ago observed by Origen[2]. And not only could an apostle pass from the borders of Persia to the English Channel unhindered by the feuds of hostile tribes; the barriers which varying culture raises up hardly existed among the more educated subjects of the Empire. In every large town the Greek language was spoken, Greek modes of thought prevailed; subtle links connected the Syrian apostle with the Greek philosopher.

Cosmopolitanism.

"A morality not founded on blood-relation had certainly come into existence. The Roman citizenship had been thrown open to nations which were not of Roman blood. Foreigners had been admitted by the Roman state to the highest civic honours. So signally were national distinctions obliterated under the Empire, that men of all nations and languages competed freely under the same political system for the highest honours of the state and of literature. The good

---

[1] Of the numerous works which relate to the preparation of the world for Christ may be mentioned—J. J. I. Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple*, translated by Darnell; T. W. Allies, *The Formation of Christendom;* H. Formby, *Ancient Rome and its Connexion with the Christian Religion;* De Pressensé, *Jésus Christ;* the *Lives of Christ* by F. W. Farrar and by Cunningham Geikie; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte;* Schürer, *Handbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte;* Schmidt, *Essai Historique sur la Societè Civile dans le Monde Romain.*

[2] *c. Celsum*, II. 30; Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* III. 6.

Aurelius and the great Trajan were Spaniards. Severus was an African. The leading jurists were of Oriental extraction[1]."

PAGANISM. *Public Religions of the West.*

And at the same time the old religions had lost much of their life and force. Probably indeed there never was a time when temples were more splendid or pagan worship more august than in the days when the Lord appeared on earth, but the educated classes at least had long ceased to believe in the ancient mythology as divine or authoritative. Livy[2] sadly contrasted the ages of faith with his own age, which mocked at gods. Philosophers perhaps rarely denied in set terms the existence of deities, but they transformed the old half-human gods into shadows or abstractions. This transformation was for the most part the work of the Stoics. Acknowledging for themselves but one deity, pervading the universe and causing all phenomena, they were yet reluctant to destroy the religion of those who could not rise to this height of contemplation. They therefore laid it down that the ordinary divinities represented different forms of the manifestation of the One. The stars, the elements, the very fruits of the earth might be regarded as deities. Zeus is in this system no longer the president of the gods, but the ruling spirit or law of the universe, of which the subordinate gods represent different portions. Such explanations, however, though they might make it easy for a Stoic to take part in the religious ceremonies of his country, were nevertheless destructive of the old religion. And while the moral philosophers resolved the deities into abstractions, the physicists, like the elder Pliny[3], held that speculation about things outside the material universe, itself a deity, lay beyond their province altogether. In a word, the pagan faiths were undergoing a process of gradual destruction, though the people long clung to their traditional observances.

Defects of Paganism.

But, in truth, even in its palmy days the worship of the Olympian deities supplied nothing to guide man through life or to console him in death. The pagan gods were deities of the tribe or the nation, not of the individual soul. The Greek religion was for the Greek as a citizen; it was an artistic and elevated idealization of Greek life, with its excellencies and its failings. So in Rome, the greater gods formed a glorified senate, while the religious ceremonies of the minor deities were interwoven with almost the whole life of a Roman[1]. With this national conception of religion, the deification of the emperor was little more than a natural result of the Roman pride in the greatness of the empire; and at the same time the extension of the empire beyond the nation tended to obscure the old national deities. Roman statesmen were indeed anxious to maintain a religion the baselessness of which they admitted, because they thought it a necessary prop for the state; but a people soon finds out that it is being governed by illusions; the scepticism of the rulers in time descends to the subjects.

---

[1] *Ecce Homo*, 131 f.

[2] *Historia*, x. 40.

[3] *Hist. Nat.* II. 1.

Oriental Religions.

In the decay of the religions of western Europe, the gods of Asia seemed to offer more delightful mystery. In particular, the Egyptian legend of the suffering Osiris—originally a mere nature-myth—was found comforting by men who sought in religion relief from suffering. And as the worship of Osiris was grateful to the wretched, so was that of the Persian sun-god Mithras to aspiring humanity. The unspotted god of light, who was engaged in a never-ceasing struggle against darkness, drew men's hearts to him as the sensuous Olympians had never done. Wherever the soldiers of the empire encamped, rude sculptures testify to the wide-spread worship of Mithras. The Mysteries too came into greater prominence in the decay of Greek and Roman religion. Whatever their origin, there can be little doubt that in the mysteries of Demeter it was taught that the soul of man survived death, and that the initiated would enjoy the light and bliss of the underworld, while the faithless and abominable wallowed in misery[2]. The hope of escaping the fate of the impious doubtless drew many to offer themselves for initiation. Dionysus also, originally a myth of the revival of the vine after the storms and frosts of winter, became in later times the representative and forerunner of man rising again to immortality[3]. Cicero[4] in his day declared that of all the excellent things to be found in Athens, the most precious

Mysteries.

---

[1] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, VI. 9.

[2] Aristoph. *Frogs*, 142.

[3] Hausrath, II. 78.

[4] *De Legibus*, II. 14, § 36; cf. *Verres*, IV. 72, § 187.

were the mysteries, since in them men found not only happiness in life but hope in death. Yet they not seldom became centres of corruption which rulers repressed and good men abhorred[1].

Philosophy.

The conceptions which were found, obscure and mixed with much evil, in the mysteries, appeared in a purer form in Platonism. To Plato mainly is due the thought which took so deep root in after ages, that in the material world is but vanity, darkness, and decay; in the ideal world, reality, light, and life. In the Platonic school we find a constant belief in one God, the ground of all existence, in the continued life of the soul, in rewards and punishments after death. And a new influence came into the Roman world through the Stoics, whose most famous teachers were not only Oriental but Semitic. Such of these as lived on the confines, or even within the borders, of the Holy Land, may have been in some degree influenced by the Jewish Schools, though it was certainly not from them that they derived their main doctrines.

Seneca.

In Seneca[2], St Paul's contemporary, a Stoic much influenced by Plato, we find many expressions which sound like an echo or an anticipation of Christianity. When he describes this mortal life as a prelude to a better; when he speaks of the body as a prison and looks forward to the enjoyment of a diviner life when he is freed from it[3]; when he urges that the body of one departed is but a fleeting form, and that he who is dead has passed into eternal peace[4]; when he describes the departed soul as enjoying its freedom, contemplating from above the spectacle of nature and of human life[5]; when he tells of the glorious light of heaven[6]; we see that the thoughts of men's hearts were being prepared to receive in Christ the full assurance of these lofty hopes. But it is through Christ that these hopes, and much more than these, have become the heritage of humanity; without Him they would have remained but the pleasant fancies with which a few elevated souls comforted themselves in the distractions of the world. There are not wanting indications that man felt his need of some greater one to help and guide him. "Let the soul have some one to revere," said Seneca[1], "by whose influence even his secret thoughts may be purified.... Happy he who can so reverence his ideal as to rule and fashion himself after him by the mere memory of him!" But then, where was the pattern to be found? Each school depreciated the ideal of every other. The scheme of the Stoic wanted solidity. It was in Christ that the ideal was found which all men might reverence and to which all men might aspire.

---

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.* 11, 31; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* I. 2, p. 11; Tertullian, *adv. Valentin.* 1.

[2] See J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul and Seneca*, in *Philippians*, pp. 268—326.

[3] *Epistt.* 102. 22, 23; 120. 14 f.; 65. 16.

[4] *Ad Marcianam de Consol.* 19. 6; 24, 5.

[5] *Ad Polyb. de Consol.* 9. 3.

[6] *Epist.* 102. 20.

Saturnian Age.

And even among the heathen there was in the first century a kind of belief that a turning-point in the history of the world had come. The Stoics held that the secular year was drawing to a close, that the course of the ages would soon begin to run over again. The ninth month ended with the death of Julius Cæsar, and the month of Saturn, the golden age, was already returning[2]. With the upper classes this expectation was probably little more than a literary fancy; but the lower orders, who knew to their cost that they lived in an iron age, took such prophecies much more seriously.

JUDAISM.

Israel pure from idolatry.

Knowledge of Scripture.

But the plot into which the seed of the Word was first cast was Judaism. Signs were not wanting that the ancient garden of the Lord had lost something of its old fertility; prophecy had ceased; from the days of Malachi to the days of John Baptist no man had been recognized as a prophet of the Lord. But idolatry, against which so many prophets had protested in the name of Jehovah, was no more found in the land; Israelites still felt a thrill of pride at the name of the Maccabees; their fathers had endured torture and death rather than suffer the Lord to be dishonoured. The Scriptures were expounded by a multitude of scribes and doctors, and hundreds of admiring disciples sat at their feet in the schools and the synagogues. The Jew, said Josephus[3], knows the Law better than his own name. No doubt they often used the words of the Book as mere charms or amulets; but at least a verbal knowledge of the Scriptures was widely diffused at the time when He came on earth of whom Moses in the Law

---

[1] *Epist.* 11.

[2] Virgil, *Ecl.* IV. See Conington's notes.

[3] *c. Apion*, II. 18.

Messianic hopes.

and the Prophets did write. And there was among the Jews of Palestine a general expectation that Messiah would speedily come. The book of Daniel spoke of four kingdoms of the earth, the fourth, in spite of its iron teeth and brazen claws, trodden down by the kingdom of the saints: what was this but the iron empire of Rome, overthrown by the kingdom of the Israelites[1]? The readiness with which pretenders drew followers about them shewed the excitement of the popular mind.

Sadducees.

The Jews of Palestine in the Apostolic age were divided into parties. The Sadducees, the men of wealth and official dignity, were the conservatives of their time. They adhered to the old Mosaic Law, and rejected all modern additions as innovations. The promises to the faithful people they regarded as belonging to this life and to their own land. They looked for no resurrection, no Kingdom of God beyond the grave. They could not question, they probably regarded as theophanies, the appearances of angels mentioned in the Scriptures; but they believed in no heaven, no abiding world of angels and spirits; nor did they look for a pure and perfect Kingdom of God on earth[2]. Such opinions as these were no good preparation for the reception of the gospel of Christ.

Pharisees.

But the Sadducees, though wealthy and high in place, were comparatively few in number; the national party, the party which represented the pride of the Jew and his hatred of the Gentiles, was that of the Pharisees. Knowledge of the Law, holiness according to the Law, were their watchwords. Doubtless, too often their minds and their lives were filled with burdensome trivialities; they put the letter before the spirit of the Law; yet to them mainly it is due that the belief in a world to come and the expectation of Messiah's kingdom took deep root in the minds of Israelites. They did not allow the noblest conception of Israel's future to fade out of memory; from the dark present they looked to the bright future; they made this future kingdom a household word among the people. Thus they laid throughout the land a train by which the fire might be kindled at the word of Christ[3]. Of a converted Pharisee we have a conspicuous instance in St Paul; we can hardly imagine a converted Sadducee.

---

[1] Josephus, *Antt.* x. 11. 7; *Bell. Jud.* VI. 5. 4.

[2] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II. 8. 14; *Antt.* XVIII. 1. 4; Hippolytus, *Haereses*, IX. 29.

[3] Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, I. 329 ff. (Ransom's Translation).

Essenes.

The Essenes[1] formed communities of their own in Palestine and Syria, in which they endeavoured to reach a degree of ceremonial purity and a complete obedience to the Law which was unattainable in the haunts of common life. "If with the Pharisees ceremonial purity was a principal aim, with the Essenes it was an absorbing passion. The Pharisees were a sect, the Essenes were an order....They were formed into a religious brotherhood, fenced about by minute and rigid rules, and carefully guarded from any contamination with the outer world." Jews as they were, "their speculations took a Gnostic turn, and they guarded their peculiar tenets with Gnostic reserve[2]." They avoided the Temple-sacrifices, they denied the resurrection of the body, and they appear to have cherished no Messianic hopes. A counterpart to the Essenes of Palestine is found in the Therapeutae described by Philo[3] in Egypt.

The Samaritans.

"The Samaritan occupied the border land between the Jew and the Gentile. Theologically, as geographically, he was the connecting link between the one and the other. Half Hebrew by race, half Israelite in his acceptance of a portion of the sacred canon, he held an anomalous position, shunning and shunned by the Jew, yet clinging to the same promises and looking forward to the same hopes[4]."

Greek Culture.

Even in Palestine the Jews of higher rank received a tincture of Greek cultivation; in the Maccabean family itself, within a few years after the struggle with Antiochus, imitators of Greek customs were found[5]; and among the rabbis, from Antigonus of Socho, who flourished about two centuries before Christ, to Gamaliel the teacher of St Paul, a taste for Greek literature was frequently manifested. Nevertheless, in the people of the Law, and especially in the Holy City, exclusiveness and hatred

---

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II. 8. 2—13; *Antt.* XIII. 5. 9, XVIII. 1. 5; *Vita* 2; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, c. 12 ff. and fragment in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VIII. 11.

[2] J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 120, 92.

[3] If the treatise *De Vitâ Contemplativâ* be really Philo's, a matter admitting considerable doubt. See Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in die Geschichte der Askese.* Eusebius (*H. E.* II. 17) merely follows Philo.

[4] J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 282, 1st edition.

[5] Josephus, *Antt.* XII. 5. 1; XIII. 11. 3; 13. 5.

The Dispersion.

Alexandria.

towards the stranger on the whole prevailed. The more fanatical rabbis excluded from eternal life those who loved the Greek learning[1]. It was through the Jews of the Dispersion that Hebrew and Greek thought were brought into some intimacy of contact. "The Jews," said Strabo[2], about the time of our Lord's birth, "have penetrated into every city, and you will not easily find a place in the empire where this tribe has not been admitted and become influential." In some cities they had a separate civil organization under their own alabarchs or ethnarchs[3]; everywhere, in spite of the Roman jealousy of private meetings or associations, they enjoyed complete freedom of worship. Where their means did not suffice for a synagogue they at least fenced off some quiet spot—if possible by the side of a stream—to which they might retire for prayer. Where they were rich and numerous, as at Alexandria, they reared temples which rivalled the magnificent edifices of the Greeks. And out of Palestine, the Jews were somewhat less Jewish; they adopted for the most part the Greek language, and conformed so far as they might to Gentile usages. The fact that they were removed from the constant view of the Temple and the debasing associations which moved the Lord's wrath, was not without its influence. It was easy to idealize a sanctuary which was not always before their eyes. Out of Palestine, the ceremonial portions of the Jewish Law dropped a little out of sight, and the moral precepts were more regarded. In Alexandria in particular, a very mixing-bowl of European and Asiatic thought, Judaism attained a new development. The Greek translation of the Scriptures, begun probably at Alexandria in the third century before Christ, is the great monument of the Hellenizing of the Jew. Through it the thoughts of Hebrew prophets first became intelligible to the Gentile world[4], and probably to many among the Jews themselves. Similarly Luther's translation of the Bible is said to have had a great effect upon the Jews of Germany. And it is evident that the Greek translators had breathed the air of Hellenism, and endeavoured to adapt the simplicity of the

---

[1] R. Akiba, quoted by Keim, i. 300.

[2] In Josephus, *Antt.* xiv. 7. 2.

[3] *Ibid.* xx. 5. 2, etc.

[4] Philo, *Vita Mosis*, ii. 140 (Mangey).

Allegory.

Pseudonymous Literature.

scriptural expressions to the Alexandrian tone of thought. But besides the slight changes of the text which were possible in a translation, Alexandrian Judaism set itself to soften or transform its ancient Scriptures by means of allegoric interpretation. To men who had adopted the principles of Platonism, the history of the Israelites seemed too mean and petty to be divine; by means of allegory, history and law and poetry were made to speak the language of philosophy; Moses and Plato were found to be at one. The great example of this school of allegories is Philo, who found in Scripture the same views of the universe which he admired in Plato and Zeno. In Philo the conception of a "Word" or "Reason" of God became familiar to the Jewish mind[1]. By many literary artifices the Hellenizing Jews endeavoured to give to their sacred history a form which might be attractive to the Gentiles. And in all such works, they gave prominence to those portions of their theology which were most in harmony with Hellenic thought. The pure and exalted conception of the one God, Messianic hope, faith in a kingdom of God to come—these are the points which are made prominent in pseudonymous Jewish literature. The second book of Esdras, or "Revelation of Ezra[2]," written almost certainly by an Alexandrian Jew, is a proof that Hellenism had not obliterated Messianic hopes.

Proselytes.

That the Gentiles for the most part looked with no friendly eye upon the Jews who dwelt among them is evident enough. Still, the words of psalms and prophets, and the faith of the Jew in his own religion, had power to attract many who were astray in an age of doubt[3]. Women especially found comfort in the services of the synagogue. In the great cities, there were always to be found admirers and adherents of the Mosaic ritual. Some were merely curious lookers-on at the Jewish services; some, more earnest worshippers (σεβόμενοι, εὐσεβεῖς), had vowed to abstain from certain Gentile practices which the Jew abhorred; some, the true "proselytes," had been admitted by circumcision to the full privileges of the children of Israel. Thus there was formed in every city a body of men acquainted with the Scriptures, who shewed by the very fact of their worshipping with a despised race that they were in earnest seeking after God, and who were much less fettered by the bonds of the Law than those who were children of Abraham after the flesh. Among these "worshipping" Gentiles Christianity in the first age found its most numerous and most satisfactory converts. Cornelius of Cæsarea is an apt type of the class which formed the great link between the first Jewish preachers of Christianity and the Gentile world. Yet Paganism was interwoven with the very structure of society; it was environed by splendid temples, a numerous priesthood, costly festivals, hereditary rites, the strains of poets, the mighty influence of use and wont. The old beliefs and still more the old customs were not abandoned without a struggle; in many places the rough populace was fanatically attached to the pleasant and stately superstitions of the old religion, while the statesmen wished to maintain, in the interests of the state, the customs which formed the framework of society, and the philosopher very often looked on the old mythology, under the twilight-glow of Neo-platonic mysticism, with a kind of half-believing affection. But there was in the empire a great middle class, swayed neither by the unreasoning fanaticism of the populace, the conservatism of the statesman, nor the illuminism of the philosopher. From this class of traders and artizans, the least conspicuous in public life, the least fettered by social prejudice, were drawn in early time the most valuable converts; these men formed the steadfast men-at-arms of the force which overcame the world.

---

[1] On the difference between the Alexandrian *Logos* and the *Memra* of the Targums, see B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel of St John*, p. xvi ff.

[2] See B. F. Westcott in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, I. 577.

[3] Seneca in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, VI. 11.

Resistance of Paganism.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH[1].

CHAP II.

John the Baptist.

The Lord's Ministry began A.D. 27 (?).

1. SUCH was the state of the world when, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, the word of God came to John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. John was soon counted as a prophet—the first since the days of Malachi who had been so recognized in Israel. Yet he was but the forerunner of that Greater One to come, even the Light of the world. Probably in the same year in which St John began his ministry, Jesus of Nazareth[2], then about thirty years of age, began to preach and say, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. He claimed to be the Messiah, the Christ, the Anointed Priest and King, for Whose coming all faithful Israelites looked and longed. He claimed to be the Son of God. Signs and wonders followed His steps; multitudes flocked round Him; disciples attached themselves to Him, especially from among the fishermen and husbandmen of Galilee. He taught them that the entrance into the Kingdom, which He was founding upon earth, was not—as some of them thought—through fleshly warfare, but through much tribulation, through self-renunciation, through taking

---

[1] On this period see J. J. Blunt, *First Three Centuries;* J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul and the Three* in *Galatians*, pp. 276—346; H. Cotterill, *The Genesis of the Church;* J. J. I. Döllinger, *First Age of Christianity and the Church*, translated by H. N. Oxenham. An account of it from the stand-point of the Tübingen School may be found in Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, and more briefly in R. W. Mackay's *Rise and Progress of Christianity.*

[2] Of the numerous *Lives of Christ* may be mentioned those by A. Neander, E. de Pressensé, K. Hase, J. Young, C. J. Ellicott, F. W. Farrar, C. Geikie, and the anonymous *Ecce Homo* and *Philochristus.* On the chronology of the Lord's Life, see Henry Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, pp. 25—94; T. Lewin, *Chronology of the New Testament;* C. E. Caspari, *Chronologisch-Geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesv Christi* (Hamburg, 1869).

CHAP. II.

up the cross and following Him. But one who claimed to found a Kingdom, and yet had neither court nor army; one who gave counsel to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, did not satisfy the eager expectations of the Jews. The Jewish leaders condemned Him for blasphemy, because He made Himself the Son of God; they handed Him over to the Roman procurator, who condemned Him because He made Himself a king. He suffered the death which the Romans inflicted on rebels and on slaves—crucifixion. In His death was Atonement made for the sin of the world. But He could not be holden of death; on the third day He rose from the tomb. He manifested Himself to His disciples, being seen of them at intervals during forty days, and speaking of the things concerning the Kingdom of God[1].

THE LORD *crucified* A.D. 30 (?).

Resurrection.

The Twelve Apostles.

Early in His ministry He had chosen from among His disciples twelve, whom He named Apostles, to be the especial companions of His earthly life and heralds of His Kingdom. To these it now fell to carry on the Society which their Lord had founded. To these He appeared for the last time on the Mount of Olives, and bade them await in Jerusalem the influx of the Spirit which He had promised to send from the Father. While the words were yet on His lips He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight.

Ascension.

The Great Day of Pentecost. A.D. 30?

They waited in obedience to His words. At Pentecost the Spirit descended in tongues of flame on each Apostle, and henceforth they shew no more of the doubt and hesitation of the time before the Resurrection[2], but boldly preach that Jesus, whom the Jews had crucified, was the Messiah, the Christ. In spite of the violent opposition of the leading Sadducees, the number of converts rapidly increased. The people favoured the rising sect; the people thronged to hear when Peter and John preached the Word, while the rulers vainly employed threats, stripes and imprisonment to silence them; even a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith[3]. The believers bore for the present the aspect of a community or brotherhood within the limits of Judaism, observing in all points the Jewish Law, attending daily in the Temple, but distinguished from their brethren by acknowledging Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah whose advent was looked for by all pious Jews. In the first fervour of brotherly love, they had all things in common.

---

[1] G. Moberly, *The Sayings of the Great Forty Days* (Lond. 1844).

[2] J. J. Blunt, *Hulsean Lectures*, Lect. 8.

[3] Acts vi. 7.

St Stephen.

So far, the Church was composed wholly of Jews, either Hebrews or Hellenists. In Jerusalem, the former party was probably more numerous and powerful. It is in St Stephen, probably a Hellenist, that we find the first indication of the growing church breaking the strict bonds of the Mosaic Law. The witnesses who declared that he "ceased not to speak words against the Holy Place and the Law;" that he said that "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place and change the customs which Moses delivered us[1]," were false probably as they were false who accused the Lord; they distorted and gave a false colour to what he had said, rather than invented what he had not said. Before the Sanhedrin he attempted no denial of their charges; his speech—cut short indeed by the wrath of the Jews—seems intended to shew that God's covenant with man existed before the Mosaic Law, and might again receive an extension beyond it. Not without reason is Stephen called "Paul's master."

St Stephen's death, A.D. 36 (?).

St Philip.

Samaria.

Simon Magus.

The rage of the Jews destroyed Stephen and dispersed the disciples. Probably the first fury of persecution fell upon those who were suspected of depreciating the exclusive privileges of the Jews, for the Twelve, still retaining the Mosaic observances, remained at their post; an ancient authority[2] tells us that their Lord had fixed twelve years as the period of their stay in Jerusalem. But Philip, like Stephen one of the Seven and probably also a Hellenist, preached Christ in Samaria[3] to the half-Jewish, half-Gentile race of its inhabitants, and Peter and John confirmed the work which Philip had begun. This reception of the Samaritans into the Church is a further step beyond the limits of Jewish prejudice, for the pure Jew hated the Samaritan, who claimed a share of his privileges, almost more fiercely than he despised the uncircumcised. In Samaria we meet with a specimen of the kind of impostor which is produced in a disturbed and excited time, the man who pretends to esoteric knowledge and magic power, and imposes himself upon the multitude for "some great one." Simon the Samaritan magician came afterwards to be regarded as the head and fount of Gnostic heresy.

---

[1] Acts vi. 13, 14.

[2] Apollonius in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 18. 14.

[3] Acts viii. 5 ff.

The Eunuch of Candace.

Cornelius.

A further advance towards the reception of the Gentiles was made when Philip baptized an Ethiopian eunuch[1]; a proselyte indeed, but hardly joined to the Jewish Church by its characteristic rite, if the law of Moses was duly observed[2]. But a much more decided step was made when St Peter was taught to recognize the absolute universality of the grace of God[3], and to baptize the Roman centurion Cornelius, certainly no Jew, though worshipping with the Hebrews among whom he lived.

Antioch.

Gentile Church.

While these things were going on in Palestine, the Church was spreading and developing elsewhere. Certain disciples, unnamed men of Cyprus and Cyrene, preached the gospel in the Syrian Antioch to the Greeks[4]—seemingly heathens and idolaters—and many of these believed and turned to the Lord. Here we have for the first time, a purely ethnic community adopted into the Church; and to these pagan adherents of Christ was first given the name "Christian[5]," formed after the analogy of Roman party-names. The Twelve sent Barnabas, a native of the neighbouring Cyprus, to report on the astonishing events of which they heard. That large-hearted man rejoiced to see the work of God among the Gentiles, and, as the Church still grew and prospered, sought help from one whom he had already known at Jerusalem.

St Paul converted, A.D. 36 (?)

2. When the blood of the martyr Stephen was shed, there stood by an ardent young Pharisee, named Saul[6], a man of pure Hebrew lineage, yet a Roman citizen and a native of the Hellenic city of Tarsus, educated in Jerusalem at the feet of the great Rabbi Gamaliel. This persecutor on his way to Damascus was struck to the

---

[1] Acts viii. 26 ff.

[2] Deut. xxiii. 1. [3] Acts x. 9 ff.

[4] Acts xi. 20. I assume that "πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας" is the correct reading of this passage.

[5] Acts xi. 26. On the name "Christian" see Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St Paul*, I. 146, ed. 1858; Baur, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 432 note; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. 234.

[6] On St Paul, see J. Pearson, *Annales Paulini;* W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St Paul;* F. W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St Paul;* T. Lewin, *The Life and Epistles of St Paul.* The dates in the life of St Paul, some of which are much disputed, are given here from Conybeare and Howson.

earth and blinded by a vision of the Lord in glory[1]; he became the most devoted servant of Him whom once he persecuted. The eager spirit which led him to persecute did not forsake him when he was set to build up the church. His was one of those natures which move altogether if they move at all; everything he did he did earnestly and devotedly; and he had that remarkable union of the fervid, sympathetic, aspiring, even visionary nature with practical ability and good-sense which is so rarely found, and which, when it is found, gives its possessor so extraordinary an influence over his fellow-men.

St Paul in Antioch, A.D. 44.

It was this Saul of Tarsus whom the friendly Barnabas brought up from Cilicia to Antioch, a journey which forms one of the most momentous epochs in the history of the Church; for Paul and Barnabas became the chief instruments in spreading the gospel of Christ among the Gentiles. Antioch became the centre of a Gentile church; Saul the great apostle of a Christianity absolutely free from the shackles of the Jewish law. During this period of his work he is always known by the Gentile name, Paulus[2]. Not that St Paul lost his love for his kindred after the flesh; his first message was always to them; but the scene in Pisidian Antioch, where the Apostle turns from his countrymen, who "judged themselves unworthy of eternal life," to the Gentiles, is typical of what took place over and over again in his sad experience; proselytes and pagans were more ready to receive the gospel than the pure Jews. His eager labours founded churches among the country people of Asia Minor; the "door of faith" was opened more widely; and the church at Antioch would probably have rejoiced at the tidings, had not certain brethren come down from Jerusalem and taught the Antiochene converts that they could not be saved unless they received the outward sign of God's covenant with Israel after the flesh[3]. Paul and Barnabas resisted this attack upon Christian liberty, and to put an end to the dissension and party-spirit which arose, these two Apostles, with others, were deputed to confer with the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem respecting the observances to be required of the Gentiles. After long

Gentile Christianity.

St Paul's Journey, A.D. 48.

Troubles at Antioch.

Conference at Jerusalem, A.D. 50.

---

[1] Acts ix. 1 ff.; xxii. 2 ff.; xxvi. 12 ff.

[2] Acts xiii. xiv. On the reasons for the adoption of this name see Conybeare and Howson, I. 56.

[3] Acts xv. 1.

discussion, both in public and in private, the brethren at Jerusalem agreed that circumcision should not be required of the Gentile brethren; only let them abstain, in deference to Jewish prejudice, from blood and things strangled; from things offered to idols, for they could not be partakers both of the Table of the Lord and the table of demons; from the licentious life and incestuous marriages which were of little account among the heathen while they were an abomination to the Jew[1].

Effect of the Decree.

It must not be supposed that such a decision as this was final and conclusive. It does not present itself to us as a universal decree, but rather as a compromise entered into between the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch[2]. But even if it were certainly a decree intended to compose the matters at issue throughout the whole church, it ought not to surprise us to find the old dispute constantly reviving; passion and party-spirit are not put down by a decree, even of the highest authority. In Antioch and the neighbouring churches of Syria and Cilicia the decree was doubtless long observed, and we read of its being delivered to the brotherhoods of Lycaonia and Pisidia[3]. St James, too, some years afterwards, refers to it as a document of which the authority was indisputable[4]. But in more remote churches it was not so; long afterwards the Judaizers in Galatia attempted to force even circumcision on St Paul's converts; the Corinthians do not seem to have heard of the decree, nor does St Paul in his letters bring it to their knowledge; and again, it is not referred to in the Apocalyptic rebukes to the churches of Asia Minor for their fornication and licentiousness[5]. The Judaic spirit troubled St Paul his whole life long; it caused the most noteworthy weakness recorded of an apostle[6], it interfered with the social unity of churches where Jew and Gentile were found—as they were in almost every church—together. It died out at last from causes entirely independent of decree or argument. While it lasted, its centre was of course Jerusalem; in the shadow of the Temple the Christian Jew could hardly desert the traditions of his forefathers.

St Paul's Journeys, A.D. 51—58.

In St Paul, emphatically the Apostle of the Gentiles,

---

[1] See J. B. Lightfoot on *Galatians*, p. 287 (1st ed.).

[2] Acts xv. 23.

[3] Acts xvi. 4.

[4] Acts xxi. 25.

[5] Apoc. ii. 14, 20.

[6] Gal. ii. 11—14.

God gave to the Church its greatest missionary. His early labours have already been mentioned; but he was not content with these; under the guidance of the Spirit he carried the gospel into Phrygia—the old seat of many a dark superstition—and founded churches among the fervid and fickle Kelts of Galatia. In Europe, the well-known names of Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, mark the direction of his journey; in Ephesus, the great seat of the worship of the Asiatic Artemis, a very academy of magical superstitions, he stayed and laboured long, until the very central worship of the renowned city was thought to be in danger. Wherever he went, he remembered his children in the Lord; the wants of the various communities which he had founded were always present to him; he wrote, he sent messengers, when possible he revisited churches which needed his exhortation and instruction[1].

Tumult at Jerusalem, A.D. 58.

This earnest activity was brought to an end for a time by the malice of the Jews. He went up to Jerusalem for the passover of the year 58 in the midst of prophecies and forebodings of evil. There, his appearance in the court of the Temple occasioned so fierce a tumult, that a party of the Roman garrison descended from their barrack and carried him off as a prisoner[2]. His Roman citizenship prevented personal ill-treatment, but he was detained in custody two years by the procurator Felix, and then sent to Rome, in consequence of his "appeal unto Cæsar," by the succeeding procurator, Festus. After a long and stormy voyage, in the course of which he suffered shipwreck, he reached Rome in the spring of the year 61, where he "was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him" for two whole years, working still for the cause which he had at heart both by his personal influence in Rome and by letters to his distant friends. His captivity became the means of spreading the gospel both in the Prætorium and among "those that were of Cæsar's household[3]."

Leaves Cæsarea, A.D. 60.
At Rome, A.D. 61.

Release, A.D. 63.

At the end of St Paul's two years captivity we lose the guidance of the Acts of the Apostles. Ancient tradition, however, asserts that he was set free at the end of the two years, that he fulfilled the wish of his heart by taking his journey into Spain[1], and afterwards again visited the East; granting this, we find from the Pastoral Epistles that he established his disciple Titus as head of the community in Crete, Timothy to a like office in Ephesus; and that, after remaining for some time at Nicopolis, he again visited the churches of Troas, Miletus and Corinth. After this, tradition tells us that he returned to Rome, where the Church was groaning under the oppression of Nero, that he was again imprisoned, and put to death[2]—as a Roman citizen naturally would be—by the stroke of the lictor's axe.

---

[1] Acts xvi—xx. and the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.

[2] Acts xxi. 28 ff.

[3] Philippians i. 13; iv. 22. See J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 169 (2nd ed.).

Second Captivity, A.D. 68.

Martyrdom, A.D. 68 (?).

St Paul's Life and Character.

When St Paul received the "crown of righteousness," he had spent the vigour of his days in his Master's service; when he was driven to appeal to his work and his suffering, he could refer to a catalogue of perils and afflictions such as put to shame those of his opponents[3]. He was hunted from city to city by Jews who hated the apostate; he had to encounter Judaizing teachers in the midst of the Church itself. It was against these that the great contest of his life was fought; the great founder of Hellenic Churches had to maintain that Christ was a Saviour for the world, and not merely a Messiah for the Jews. It is under the pressure of Judaic opposition that his own doctrine takes form; justification by the faith in Christ without the works of the law is the corner-stone of his teaching. Christ is to him not merely the fulfilment of Messianic hopes, but the revelation of the great mystery of God's dealings with mankind from the very foundation of the world. Adam and Christ, sin and righteousness, the flesh and the spirit, death and life—these are the constantly recurring antitheses in his writings. It is evident that we have here a Gospel for the world, not for the Jews only. True, St Paul's thoughts and imagery are intensely Jewish, and he yearns after his kindred in blood with a great longing[4]; but in Christ he knows of no distinction of Jew

[1] Clemens Romanus, *ad Cor.* i. 5—a passage of doubtful interpretation; and the *Muratorian Fragment;* see Westcott, *On the Canon,* p. 560.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* II. 22. Those who reject the second imprisonment either insert the Pastoral Epistles in St Paul's life before A.D. 64, or deny their authenticity altogether. See the whole subject discussed in Conybeare and Howson, II. 535 ff.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 21 ff.

[4] Rom. x. 1.

or Gentile, bond or free; it is in the Church of Christ that he finds the true Israel, the fulfilment of God's purpose from all eternity[1].

St James the Just.

3. The centre of the best and noblest form of Jewish Christianity was naturally the Holy City; and the Church of Jerusalem was ruled by one who was more than blameless in his observance of the sacred law, St James the Lord's brother. Without accepting all that in early tradition gathered round his name[2], we cannot but believe that he remained in all things a devout Israelite, an Israelite in whom was no guile. The rights of the converts of the Gentiles to a place in the Church he had frankly admitted in the conference of Jerusalem; yet the Judaisers who troubled the peace of Gentile Churches claimed the authority of James[3], abusing perhaps a venerable name to give their doctrine a weight not its own. In his epistle he says nothing of the Gospel or of the Resurrection of the Lord, dwelling rather on faith in the one God and on obedience to the law; but the "law" is the perfect law of liberty, the true "liberty" wherewith Christ has made us free; and so far is he from leaning to the self-complacent orthodoxy of the Pharisee, that he lays it down in the plainest manner that the true ritual or "Divine service[4]" consists in purity and works of love; the whole tone of the epistle recalls our Lord's denunciations of the Scribes and Pharisees, and seems directed against a kindred spirit. St James the Just comes before us in the declining days of Jerusalem as a devout soul in the midst of factions whose religion was warfare; and when these factions put him to death, "straightway," says Hegesippus[5], "Vespasian laid siege to their city;" it seemed as if a guardian angel had departed[6].

St Peter.

4. St Peter is a less conspicuous figure than St Paul in the history of the Apostolic Church. We know that he was esteemed a "pillar of the church" in Jerusalem[7], and that the fear of losing his reputation with the Judaizers at

---

[1] Ephes. i. 3—13.

[2] Hegesippus in Eusebius, *H. E.* II. 23. Compare Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9, § 1. On the whole narrative, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 338 ff.

[3] Galat. ii. 12.

[4] *θρησκεία*, James i. 27.

[5] In Euseb. *H. E.* II. 23, § 18.

[6] A. P. Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 291 ff.

[7] Gal. ii. 9.

At Antioch.

Martyrdom, A.D. 67 or 68.

Antioch induced him to comply with their prejudices[1]. At the time of writing his first epistle we find him in Babylon[2], and the address to the "elect sojourners of the dispersion" of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia may perhaps be taken to imply that he had visited those countries. Even during the time occupied by the Acts of the Apostles we know little of his movements, and afterwards much less. He is said to have been bishop of Antioch[3] and of Rome. That he was not in Rome at the time of St Paul's first imprisonment seems an almost certain inference from the silence of St Luke; nor does St Paul mention him in his letters to or from Rome. An ancient tradition asserts that he suffered at Rome at the same time with St Paul, being crucified (or impaled) with his head downwards[4]; and the tombs of the two saints were shewn there at the end of the second century[5].

Roman Episcopate.

The legend of St Peter's twenty-five years' episcopate of Rome does not appear to be older than the fourth century. Ignatius[6] alludes to the authority of SS. Peter and Paul for the Romans especially; Irenæus[7], speaking of the value of apostolic tradition, says that these two apostles, after founding and building the Roman Church, gave the oversight of it (τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν) to Linus, distinguishing apparently between the apostolic and the episcopal office. The apocryphal *Petri Prædicatio*[8] speaks of the meeting of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome. The *Apostolical Constitutions*[9] declare that Linus, the first bishop, was consecrated by St Paul, and Clement, his successor, by St Peter; here too the office of an apostle is something distinct from a local episcopate. It is in

---

[1] Gal. ii. 11—14.

[2] Frequently supposed to mean Rome (Eusebius, *H. E.* II. 15, and many modern authorities). But we should scarcely expect to find a mystical designation used as the date of a letter written by no means in a mystical style.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 36; Jerome, *Catal. Scriptor.* c. 1. Eusebius, however, contradicts himself, for in *H. E.* III. 22, he makes Evodius the first, and Ignatius the second bishop of Antioch.

[4] Tertullian, *De Præscript.* 36; Origen in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 1. The words of Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* I. 5) with reference to St Peter's martyrdom do not necessarily imply that he suffered at Rome, though it is probable that he had *Roman* martyrs in view in the whole passage.

[5] Caius of Rome, in Euseb. *H. E.* II. 25.

[6] *Ad Romanos*, c. 4.

[7] *Hæres.* III. 3.

[8] Quoted by Pseudo-Cyprian, *de Rebaptism.* c. 17, p. 90, Hartel.

[9] vii. 46. 1.

Jerome's version of Eusebius's Chronicle[1] that we first find it distinctly stated, inconsistently with Eusebius himself in the history, that St Peter went to Rome in the year 43 and remained for twenty-five years as bishop of the church in that city. But not only does this supposition involve chronological difficulties of the most serious kind, but Jerome himself states[2] that the title of bishop was not used strictly in the apostolic age, but was applied to several distinguished leaders at the same time in a church; when, therefore, he styles St Peter "bishop" of Rome, he must not be understood to claim for him the same kind of local pre-eminence which is involved in the modern use of the term. So Epiphanius[3] speaks of SS. Peter and Paul as *bishops* of Rome. The truth seems to be, that from about the fourth century churches claimed as their "bishops," apostles or other distinguished teachers who were associated with their early traditions[4].

St Peter's Teaching.

St Peter and St Paul are united in Roman tradition, and they were indeed one in heart though sometimes they might seem to be divided; once St Peter denied his Lord, once he impaired the freedom of the Gospel; but the very narrative of the latter circumstance implies that this was contrary to the habit of his life[5]. His recognition of Christ crucified as the centre of our faith and the source of life is identical with St Paul's[6]; his tendency to speak of the Church of Christ under images derived from the older dispensation is the same; Christ is the Paschal Lamb[7], Christians are "the holy nation, the peculiar people[8]." The main difference—which is no contrariety—between him and his great fellow-worker is, that he speaks rather of the earthly life and sufferings of Christ, of the believer and the world around him, of the hope of a glorious Advent, than of the eternal Son from Whom and

---

[1] Lib. II. anno 43. Compare the *Catalogus Scriptorum*, c. 1.

[2] *Comm. in Titum*, c. 1.

[3] *Hæres.* 27.

[4] The tradition of the twenty-five years' Roman episcopate is defended by Pagi (on Baronius, an. 43), Valesius (on Euseb. *H. E.* II. 25), Baluze (on Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* c. 2), and many others. See also J. Pearson, *Dissertationes Duæ*, in *Minor Works*, II. 293 ff.; S. Van Til, *De Petro Romæ Martyre;* J. Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, cc. 1 and 2; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der Petrussage.*

[5] Galat. ii. 14. See Lightfoot's note.

[6] Compare 1 Pet. ii. 24 with Gal. ii. 20.

[7] 1 Pet. i. 19.

[8] *Ibid.* ii. 9.

CHAP. II.

through Whom and to Whom are all things. St Peter was no doubt "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" in thought as in birth, yet he was no Judaizer; the law he never mentions, nor does he insist in any way on the perpetuity of formal ordinances. It was without support from his epistles that the Judaizers claimed him as their patron.

ST JOHN.

5. Of the beloved disciple we see no more in the Acts of the Apostles after the laying-on of hands on the Samaritan disciples. Of the date when he left Jerusalem we have no information, and for some years we have no record of his work. A constant tradition tells us however that he took the oversight of the church in Ephesus[1] after the departure of St Paul, and we may well believe that he extended it to the other six churches which are addressed in the Apocalypse. Of the fact of his banishment to Patmos[2] there can be no doubt, though it is placed by different authorities at dates varying from the reign of Claudius[3] to that of Domitian[4]. St John, with his apostolic authority, his purified warmth, his heavenly spirit, was placed by the providence of God in the very spot which most bubbled over with sects and heresies. In Asia he abode, says Irenæus[5], until the days of Trajan, when he fell asleep in extreme old age in the midst of his disciples.

At Ephesus, about A.D. 64?

Death, about A.D. 100.

The traditions respecting him shew how deep an impression his holiness and his loathing of all that was vile had made upon those who surrounded him. His life falls into two divisions; the Judaic period before he left Palestine, ending probably with the banishment to Patmos and the writing of the Apocalypse[6]; and the period in the midst of Jews and Gentiles, of error and heresy, in Ephesus and other cities of Asia Minor. In the Apocalypse we see the "son of thunder;" here indeed "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy[7]," the spirit of Ezekiel and Daniel. Here too the gospel is to the Jew first, but also to the Greek; if we see first the twelve tribes gathered round

His Teaching.

---

[1] Irenæus, *Hæres.* III. 1; Clement of Alexandria in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 23; Origen in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 1.

[2] Apocal. i. 9.

[3] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 51, c. 33.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 18.

[5] *c. Hæres.* II. 22, § 5.

[6] Lightfoot, *On Galatians*, p. 334; Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, quoted by Hase, *K.-G.* 36. See also Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 679.

[7] Apocal. xix. 10.

the throne of the Lamb, we see also the great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and tribes and peoples and tongues, singing praises to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb[1]. We do not find the disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast giving prominence to the Lord's Humanity, but rather the contrary; He is not merely the faithful and true witness, but the source (ἀρχὴ) of the creation of God[2]; His name is called the Word of God[3]. In the thirty years which perhaps intervened between the writing of the Apocalypse and that of the Gospel and Epistles, St John had changed the scene of his life, and the Church itself, agitated by new movements, required a new setting-forth of old truth. These later writings represent a more advanced stage of the Church's life than the letters of St Paul; they set forth the very same view of a gospel for mankind which is found in St Paul, not now controversially, but positively, and with an authoritative calmness which is foreign to the eager style of the Apostle of the Gentiles. St John does not dwell on the feeling of sin and the need of redemption with the same emphatic earnestness as St Paul; he rather looks on the world as agitated by the great contest between light and darkness, the Word of God and the power of evil; he appeals rather to the innate longing of man after righteousness and perfection; he speaks less of faith in Christ than of the perfect union in love which is to knit the Church to God in Christ, as it knits Christ to God[4]. Yet so little contrariety is there in all this to the Pauline teaching that certain passages in St Paul's writings might well be adopted as mottos for St John's[5]; all the several ways of the apostles meet in one end.

THE REMAINING APOSTLES.

6. The traditions, that the apostles before their departure from Jerusalem divided the several portions of the world by lot among themselves, and that they formed the Apostles' Creed (σύμβολον) by each contributing a clause, do not seem to be older than the fourth or fifth century.

---

[1] Apocal. vii. 4—10; compare St John's Gospel, iv. 22 ff.

[2] Apocal. iii. 14.

[3] Apocal. xix. 13.

[4] St John xvii. 11. On St John's teaching, see B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel of St John*, Introd. pp. xxxii. ff.

[5] E. g. 1 Cor. viii. 6; xv. 47.

St Thomas. St Andrew. Earlier accounts say, that St Thomas had Parthia for his province, St Andrew Scythia[1]; the apocryphal *Acts*[2] of the latter, describing his martyrdom at Patras, were once supposed to be a genuine letter of the witnesses of his death, and have certainly influenced some of the early liturgies[3]. *St Bartholomew.* Bartholomew is said to have preached in India, and to have left there the Gospel of St Matthew in Hebrew characters[4]; there he suffered martyrdom by beheading[5]. *St Philip.* Philip the apostle was gathered to his rest in Hierapolis[6]. *St Thaddæus.* Thaddæus is said to have been sent to Abgarus, king of Edessa[7]. Many later legends have gathered round the apostles; but in fact their labours are written, for the most part, not in the pages of history, but in the Book of Life.

ORGANIZATION AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH[8].

7. The Church is a community confessing the name of Christ, and pervaded by the spirit of Christ. It is of no age or clime, but abiding and universal, and developes according to its varying circumstances the organs which are necessary for its spiritual life, preserving always the ordinances and gifts of its Divine Founder.

Baptism. In the first age, as in all ages, it was through baptism that believers were admitted into that holy fellowship; this followed at once upon the profession of faith in Christ, and those who were so admitted are in Scripture language "the brethren," the "saints," or "holy ones" (ἅγιοι)[9], as being, like the Israelites of old, set apart and consecrated to the service of God. These saints are "one in Christ[10]," "buried with Christ," that they may "walk in newness of life[11];" these are "kings and priests to God[12];" "a royal priesthood, an adopted people[13]." Not only individuals, but whole households, were admitted at once to baptism into the name of Christ[14]. *Laying on of hands.* Baptism was followed by the laying on of hands, that the converts might "receive the Holy Ghost," the workings of which were in the apostolic age manifested in various special gifts, especially those of tongues and of prophecy[1].

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* III. 1.

[2] In Tischendorf's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha.*

[3] See the Gregorian *Sacramentary*, and Mabillon's *Gallo-Gothic Missal*, on St Andrew's Day.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10.

[5] Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 36.

[6] Euseb. *H. E.* III. 31; v. 24.

[7] *Ibid.* I. 13; II. 1.

[8] See G. A. Jacob, *Eccl. Polity of the New Testament*, and Cotterill, *Genesis*, Pt. III. ch. 12.

[9] Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1; etc.

[10] Gal. iii. 27, 28.

[11] Rom. vi. 3, 4.

[12] Apocal. i. 6; v. 10.

[13] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[14] Acts xvi. 15, 33; 1 Cor. i. 16.

Holy Communion.

From that "first day of the week," when Christ rose from the dead, Christians have eaten the Bread and drunk the Cup, shewing forth the Lord's Death till He come. The Eucharistic celebration was connected in early times with a solemn meal[2], as in its first institution; a custom which at Corinth led to so much disorder that St Paul had to rebuke sternly the irreverence of those who turned the Lord's Supper into a common, and even riotous, meal, "not distinguishing the Lord's Body." The "Kiss of Love[3]," or "Holy Kiss[4]," was given at these meetings. The Eucharist was, as it seems, at first celebrated in the midst of such a number as could meet in the "upper room" of some disciple, perhaps sometimes in the midst of a single household; afterwards, as at Corinth, in assemblies of a somewhat more public kind, to which each brother brought his own contribution[5].

Unction.

In sickness, the brethren sent for the elders of the Church, who prayed over them and anointed them with oil, that they might recover[6]. "Gifts of healing" were among the special endowments of the Holy Spirit.

Worship.

As to the manner of conducting divine worship, whether at the celebration of the Eucharist or in other meetings, we know that prayer, intercession, and thanksgiving, were the natural language of the early Church[7]. When the brethren came together, probably portions of the Old Testament, certainly apostolic letters[8], were publicly read; psalms were sung, and before long the Spirit added Christian hymns to the treasury of devotion[9]; the "word of exhortation" was uttered, not only by the presbyters, but by other members of the community, as the Spirit gave them utterance; each brother seems to have exercised the gift which the Spirit gave him for the good of the whole, subject only to the natural laws of fitness and order; one the gift of prophecy, another the gift of tongues, another the interpretation of tongues[1]. The most precious of these gifts was prophecy[2], the power of speaking under the influence of the Spirit for the building up of the Church.

---

[1] Acts viii. 14—17; xix. 1—8; Heb. vi. 1—4.

[2] Acts ii. 46 (κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον μετελάμβανον τροφῆς); 1 Cor. xi. 20 ff.

[3] 1 Pet. v. 14.

[4] Rom. xvi. 16, etc.

[5] 1 Cor. xi. 21.

[6] James v. 14, 15; compare Mark vi. 13.

[7] Acts ii. 42; 1 Tim. ii. 1.

[8] Col. iv. 16.

[9] Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16. The passage 1 Tim. iii. 16 is by some supposed to be a fragment of a Christian hymn. Pliny (*Epist.* x. 97) speaks of Christians singing hymns in alternate strains to Christ as God.

Holy Days.

As for the days on which assemblies for worship were held, the Apostle taught with the utmost plainness that the Christian was not bound to esteem one day above another[3]. Many, no doubt, of the Jewish Christians long continued to observe the seventh-day Sabbath; but the great festival of the Church which was to shew forth the life of the risen Lord has been from the beginning the first day of the week[4], the "Lord's Day[5]," which seems to have been observed by all Christians, whether they also hallowed the Sabbath or not[6]. It is probable that a Passover was also celebrated in the Church, as commemorating the great deliverance from sin and death by the Resurrection of Christ[7]. As to the usual hour of assembling nothing can be determined, except that the administration of Holy Communion accompanied or followed the evening meal.

Commission of the Christian Ministry.

The Lord, before His Ascension, gave to the Apostles whom He had chosen the charge to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and teaching them to observe the laws of Christ; adding the promise, to be with them always, even unto the end of the world[8], to shew His presence by "signs following." To the Apostles especially was it committed to commemorate their Lord by the Breaking of the Bread and the Blessing of the Cup, according to His holy institution[9]; to them was committed the power of forgiving sins[10]; they were to be—as Christ's apostle expresses it—

---

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 1—11.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 1 ff.

[3] Gal. iv. 9—11; Col. ii. 16; Rom. xiv. 5.

[4] Matt. xxviii. 1; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[5] Apocal. i. 10.

[6] See J. A. Hessey, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Lord's Day*.

[7] The observance of such a festival however is not proved by the well-known passage 1 Cor. v. 7.

[8] Matt. xxviii. 18—20; [Mark xvi. 15].

[9] Luke xxii. 19.

[10] Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 21—23. The same charge to St Peter, Matt. xvi. 19.

"servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God[1]," instruments of Christ's working, channels of divine grace.

Church in Jerusalem.

While yet the Church of Christ consisted of a single community in Jerusalem, all the gifts and offices of the Christian ministry were concentrated in the twelve Apostles. They alone, as it seems, preached and taught; at their feet were laid the offerings which formed the support of the Church, while as yet they had all things common. The charge of "serving tables," at the common meals or distribution of food, becoming excessive, gave occasion to the first committing of a portion of the work of the ministry to others. The apostles desired to be relieved of this part of their burden, that they might give themselves to the ministry of the word and to prayer. The body of the disciples accordingly chose seven, whom the apostles consecrated to their office by prayer with laying on of hands[2]. These seven are commonly, and no doubt rightly, called the Seven Deacons. The giving of alms is so intimately connected with ghostly consolation that we are not surprised to see St Stephen a leading teacher in Jerusalem, and St Philip preaching the gospel in Samaria. We soon find the diaconate in the Gentile churches also[3]; a deaconess, no doubt especially for ministrations to the half-secluded women of a Greek town, was found in the church at Cenchreæ[4]. In the Philippian church the "bishops and deacons" constitute apparently the whole recognized ministry[5]. In the first Epistle to Timothy, towards the close of his life, St Paul gives very particular directions as to the qualifications both of deacons and deaconesses, in terms which imply the dignity and importance of the office[6].

Deacons.

The office of deacon was, in the main, a new one, called forth by the needs of the Christian Church. The office of Presbyter on the other hand seems to have been already existing in the Jewish polity, in which each synagogue was governed by a body of elders[7]. Hence, when presbyters come to be spoken of, there is not a word of explanation; it is taken for granted that the familiar

Presbyters.

---

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

[2] Acts vi. 1—6.

[3] Rom. xii. 7, and perhaps 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[4] Rom. xvi. 1.

[5] Philip. i. 1.

[6] 1 Tim. iii. 8 ff.

[7] Vitringa, *de Synag.* III. i. c. 1, pp. 613 ff.

word will suggest with sufficient accuracy the nature of the office. At Jerusalem the presbyters receive the alms of the Gentile churches[1]; they are associated with the apostles in the whole business of the Jerusalem conference[2]; they are present when St James receives St Paul on his last visit to Jerusalem[3]. And wherever SS. Paul and Barnabas formed a church, there they appointed presbyters[4]. The body of presbyters was in all cases an essential and central part of the organization of a Christian community. The function of the presbyter was probably, in the first instance, like that of the Jewish elders, rather one of government than of "labour in word and doctrine[5]," though such labour brought "double honour" to those who exercised it; yet it is required that the presbyter should be "apt to teach[6]," clinging stoutly to the faithful word, that he may be able also to exhort in the sound teaching and to confute gainsayers[7]; a sufficient proof that teaching and exhortation were ordinarily expected of him.

Bishops.

It has been assumed in the preceding sentence that the word "bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος)—a term only used in reference to Gentile Churches, and probably carrying with it Gentile associations—is in the New Testament absolutely synonymous with the word "presbyter[8]." This may, perhaps, be taken for granted; but it by no means follows that such a minister as was afterwards designated a "bishop" was not found in the apostolic age. St Paul delegated to men like Timothy and Titus the same kind of power over particular churches which he himself exercised over all those of his own foundation; this is evidently the beginning of the office which in the second century was called by a special name derived from ἐπίσκοπος, and which still bears a similar appellation in almost every European tongue. St James, the Lord's brother, clearly enjoyed in Jerusalem the local preeminence and authority[9] which justified later writers in calling him *bishop* of Jerusalem; and the apostolic authority of St John was probably in his latter days so far localized in Ephesus and its neighbourhood that we may well call him bishop of that city.

---

[1] Acts xi. 30. This circumstance has led some to suppose that the presbyters were the successors of the seven of Acts vi. See Ritschl, *Altkathol. Kirche*, p. 355.

[2] Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23; xvi. 4.

[3] Acts xxi. 18.

[4] Acts xiv. 23.

[5] 1 Tim. v. 17.

[6] 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[7] Tit. i. 9.

[8] Philip. i. 1; Acts xx. 17 compared with xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2; 1 Tim. iii. 1—13; Titus i. 5—7. See Lightfoot, *On Philippians*, p. 93 ff. (2d ed.).

[9] Acts xv. 13; xxi. 18; Gal. i. 19; ii. 12.

Threefold Ministry.

We thus recognize in the apostolic age a threefold order; the general superintendence exercised by the apostles themselves—whether over several churches or a particular church—a power afterwards delegated to "faithful men" in the several communities; and the powers of administration and teaching committed to presbyters and deacons in each church. Of other offices or functions mentioned in the New Testament[1], that of the "shepherds," "presidents[2]," and "leaders[3]," was seemingly identical with that of the presbyters; "helps" and "governments" probably belonged to deacons and presbyters respectively; the work of teaching and evangelizing belonged to all the orders; prophecy was not appropriated in the New more than in the Old Dispensation to any rank or dignity; the wonder-working power, gifts of healing, kinds of tongues were gifts bestowed by the free grace of the Spirit on various members of the community for the building up and completion of the whole.

SECTS AND HERESIES.

8. But even in the apostolic age there were spots on the fair face of the Church. First and foremost was the constant desire of Jewish converts to enforce on all Christians the observance of the Jewish law, to import into the Christian Church the distinctions of meats and drinks, of new moons and sabbaths, which were to cease when they had subserved their proper end[4]. And the evils of the "old man" in the Gentile churches were even more conspicuous and more fatal. The Greek spirit of partizanship[5], the tendency to look upon some higher knowledge or "gnosis" as the great end and aim of initiation into the mystery of Christ[6], the reluctance of idolaters to forsake the gay festivals which they had frequented in the heathen temples[7], their low standard of morality, especially as regards the intercourse of the sexes[8]; in a word, the desire

---

[1] See especially 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; on these passages, Ritschl, *Alt-katholisch. Kirche*, p. 348 ff. (2nd ed.).

[2] Προιστάμενοι, 1 Thess. v. 12; Rom. xii. 8.

[3] Ἡγούμενοι, Hebr. xii. 7.

[4] Col. ii. 22.

[5] 1 Cor. iii. 3 ff.

[6] *Ibid.* viii. 1 ff.; 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[7] 1 Cor. x. 14 ff.

[8] *Ibid.* v. 1; vi. 16 ff.

False Christs. Dositheus.

Simon Magus.

Menander.

to compromise between Christ and demons, seemed as if it would drown Christianity in paganism. Even the cardinal doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead was denied or obscured by some of the would-be wise[1]. Oriental forms of asceticism[2] and tendencies to the worship of hierarchies of supernatural beings, intermediate between God and man[3], seem early to have found entrance into the Church. The Epistle of St Jude and the Apocalypse of St John reveal to us a time when deceivers were frequent and men ready to be deceived. St John's insistance on the reality of the human body of Christ[4] seems to indicate that the heresy which regarded it as unreal already existed. False Christs and false prophets were not wanting; one Dositheus, in Samaria, gave himself out to be the prophet whom Moses declared that the Lord would raise up unto His people, and preached the divinity and eternal obligation of the Mosaic Law[5]; Simon Magus came to be recognized as "the power of God which is called Great[6]," and his subsequent history, however decorated with fable, shews that he was regarded by a sect as a kind of incarnation of the creative power of the Divinity[7]; Menander too seems to have represented himself as an incarnate deity, and to have persuaded his followers that he could confer upon them the gift of immortality[8]. Nor are indications wanting that others also cried "Lo, here is Christ," and found some at least to go forth to them.

Excommunication.

The Lord foretold that tares should be mingled with the wheat in the field of the world, not to be separated by hasty hands; yet He Himself gave the precept that the offending and unrepentant brother must be excluded from the community[9]. And this power it was necessary to exert in order to maintain spiritual life and sound doctrine; the evil deed and foul word "eat as doth a canker." The apostles, or the brethren under their direction, excluded

---

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 12 ff.; 2 Tim. ii. 18.

[2] Rom. xiv. 2, 21; 1 Tim. iv. 3.

[3] Col. ii. 18 (see Lightfoot's edition, pp. 89 f., 101 f., 110, 181 f.); compare 1 Tim. i. 4; Tit. iii. 9.

[4] 1 John i. 1.

[5] Clementine *Hom.* II. 24; Origen, *De Principiis*, IV. 1—17; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 13.

[6] Acts viii. 10 [Lachmann].

[7] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. cc. 26, 56; *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 120; Irenæus, *c. Hæres.* I. 23; Eusebius, *H. E.* II. 13; Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 2.

[8] Justin, *Apol.* I. c. 26; Euseb. *H. E.* III. 26; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 22.

[9] Matt. xviii. 17.

Chap. II.

from the communion of the Church those who were guilty of gross immorality[1], those who denied or deformed the faith[2], those who caused divisions among the brethren[3]. Yet exclusion from the society of the faithful was only resorted to in the last necessity, and the restoration of the offender was always earnestly desired; if one was overtaken in a transgression, the "spiritual" were to correct and reinstate him tenderly[4]; love and comfort were to be bestowed on the penitent[5]; if men were "judged," it was that they might not perish with the world[6]; if one was delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, it was that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord[7]. In a word, the end of excommunication is never merely punishment, but the preservation of the Church and the reformation of the offender.

---

[1] 1 Cor. v. 1—5, 9—11.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 20; Gal. i. 8, 9; 2 John 10, 11.

[3] 2 Thess. iii. 14; Tit. iii. 10; Rom. xvi. 17.

[4] Gal. vi. 1.

[5] 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

[6] 1 Cor. xi. 32.

[7] *Ibid.* v. 5.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. III.

JEWISH PERSECUTION.

1. THE first external enemy which nascent Christianity had to encounter was the malice of the Jew. To the Jews were due the deaths of St Stephen, St James the Apostle, and St James the Just. It was by the Jews that St Paul was evil entreated, almost to the death. Even where they had no political power, their irregular animosity was still active[1]. But the most extensive and cruel of all the persecutions which Christians had to endure at the hands of the Jews was that which befel them when Bar-Cochba[2] raised the standard of insurrection against the Romans. Christians of course refused to acknowledge the pretended "Son of the Star[3]" as Messiah; their principles forbade them to join in rebellion; hence they had to endure the wrath of those who regarded them as renegades, while the Roman government simply looked upon them as Jews. The rebellion of Bar-cochba was put down, and a new Roman town, Ælia Capitolina[4], built on the ruins of Jerusalem by the direction of the emperor Hadrian. When the Jews could practise no violent persecution they made amends by the circulation of calumnies[5]. Their schools of learning at Babylon and Tiberias seem to have been centres of this kind of manufacture.

Bar-cochba put down, A.D. 135.

Calumnies.

ROMAN PERSECUTION.

But the great internecine struggle was between the

---

[1] E.g. against Symeon (Euseb. *H. E.* III. 32); Polycarp (*Ib.* IV. 15, § 29).

[2] Dio Cassius XLVIII. 32; XLIX. 12, 14; Justin M. *Apol.* I. 31; Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 6, 8.

[3] Numbers xxiv. 17.

[4] Deyling, *Aeliae Capit. Origines* (Leipzig, 1743).

[5] Justin M. *Trypho*, c. 17; Tertull. *ad Nationes*, I. 14.

Church and the Empire[1]. The Empire was no doubt greatly more tolerant in matters of religion than the small republics of Greece had been; it necessarily sanctioned the worship of the gods of the conquered nations which were included within its borders; but it was not indifferent in matters of religion. The Roman gods were the gods of the state, and the state by no means looked favourably upon forms of worship which tended to diminish the reverence due to them. The old republic was extremely jealous of foreign superstitions, and the principle of the law which forbade the worship of foreign gods not adopted by the state[2] was never allowed to drop wholly out of sight. In a Roman colony we find the complaint brought against the apostles, that they taught customs which it was not lawful for Romans to receive or to observe[3]. Pomponia Græcina was accused before a family tribunal of practising "foreign superstition" in the days of Nero[4]. Magic was forbidden under severe penalties; the laws of the Twelve Tables assigned death as the penalty for practising incantation; and probably the miracles of healing attributed to the Christians, especially cures of demoniacs, brought upon them the suspicion of magic. The possession of magical books was also a crime, and the sacred books of Christians were often reputed magical[5].

Illicit religions.

Magic.

We have the testimony of Tertullian[6] that the principal charges against Christians were those of sacrilege and lese-majesty; and his words imply that to refuse to worship the gods of the Empire was to be guilty of sacrilege. The punishment of sacrilege was in the discretion of the proconsul, who might apportion it according to the circumstances of the case and the age and sex of the criminal; in extreme cases he might sentence offenders to be burnt alive, crucified, or cast to wild beasts[7]. Under

Sacrilege.

---

[1] On the persecutions generally, see Martini, *Persecutiones Christianorum sub Impp. Rom.*; Köpke *de Statu et conditione Christianorum sub Impp. Rom. II. Sæc.*; B. Aubé, *Hist. des Persécutions*. On the laws of the Empire bearing on Christians, see Thiel, *Altröm. Rechtsanschanung über. d. Christl. Religion*, in *Tübing. Quartalschrift*, 1855, 2; Le Blant, *Les Bases Juridiques des Poursuites dirigées contre les Martyrs*, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Academ. des Inscrip.* Paris, 1868.

[2] Cicero *De Legibus*, II. 8.

[3] Acts XVI. 21.

[4] Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII. 32.

[5] Origen *c. Celsum*, l. VI. p. 302.

[6] *Apolog.* 10.

[7] *Digest*, XLVIII. tit. 13, c. 6.

Lese-Majesty.

the head of "læsa majestas[1]" was brought every act and every word which might tend to impair the authority of the government or to bring it into discredit. It is easy to see how wide a range charges of lese-majesty might have. Probably the rumour that Christians expected existing states soon to pass away and a new kingdom to succeed brought them under the notice of the tribunals. But there was nothing of which the Empire was more intolerant than the formation of associations unknown to the law. From the very earliest days of imperial rule attempts were made to check the formation of clubs and societies[2], and severe legislation was directed against them. One who held an unlawful meeting was liable to the same pains and penalties as one who seized a public place by armed force; that is, to the penalties of lese-majesty. Some exceptions were however made; religious meetings were not forbidden, provided that they were so conducted as not to offend against the laws relating to illicit collegia; and benefit-societies consisting of poor people (tenuiores) and slaves, were permitted in Rome to meet and make their payments to the common fund once a month. A rescript of Septimius Severus extended this provision to all Italy and the provinces[3]. Christian congregations may sometimes have received legal recognition as benefit-clubs, for they did undoubtedly contribute at their meetings to a common fund for the purpose of mutual succour, though they could scarcely have complied with the condition of meeting only once a month. But, on the whole, the Church was clearly regarded as a secret society of a very dangerous kind, having occult signs and pass-words, and bound together in a confederation which extended over the whole empire. That Christians formed unlawful associations is the first charge brought against them by Celsus[4], and Tertullian[5], a Christian advocate, scarcely attempts to refute it. The Roman statesman saw in the Christian Church either the ephemeral product of fanatical

Collegia, Hetæriæ.

Benefit Societies.

---

[1] *Digest*, xlviii. tit. 4.

[2] Sueton. *Julius*, 42; *August.* 32. On the whole subject, see Mommsen *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum.*

[3] *Digest*, xlvii. tit. 22. On burial-clubs, which were the most common form of benefit-club, see Brownlow and Northcote, *Roma Sotteranea*, i. 64—109 (2nd ed.).

[4] Origen *c. Cels.* lib. i. p. 4.

[5] *Apol.* 39; cf. *De Jejuniis*, c. 13.

folly and delusion, or a slinking gang of conspirators, a "lucifuga natio," which the state must needs put down, were it only for its own safety.

Calumnies against Christians.

The secrecy of their meetings in time of persecution was a main cause of the calumnies which were circulated against them. The Empire was full of mysteries and secret orgies, yet against none do we find such vile accusations brought as those which were reiterated against the Christians. They were atheists[1], they indulged in Thyestean banquets, they revelled in horrible incest[2]; they worshipped a monster with an ass's head[3]. That they should be called atheists was perhaps not altogether unnatural; those who forsook the temples of the gods and worshipped no deity graven by art and man's device were to the heathen populace of course atheists. Their nightly assemblies for the feast of love and the Holy Communion, and a few mystical words relating to the Agape, the commemoration of the death of Christ, and the participation of His Flesh and Blood, grossly misunderstood, gave rise probably to the horrible charges of murder, strange food, and illicit love. Such rumours as these caused men like Tacitus to regard the Church of Christ, the only society in the empire in which a pure and noble morality was taught, as a loathsome superstition[4]. It was thought to bring down the wrath of the gods on the state. If an earthquake shook a city or a river overflowed its banks, or the seasons were unpropitious, the cry arose, 'To the lions with the Christians!'[5] And it must not be forgotten that all those who lived by pagan worship found their occupation threatened; the makers of silver shrines of the Ephesian Artemis were but specimens of a class found wherever a temple existed. And not only those whose material interests were in danger, but paganism in general found its old mythology, its civic feeling, its frank enjoyment of the life of this world, called in question by a sect which

Misfortunes.

Pagan Worship.

Pagan Life.

---

[1] Arnobius, VI. 1.

[2] Minucius Felix, c. 9.

[3] Tertull. *Apol.* c. 18. On the burlesque-crucifix with an ass's head, see Garrucci, *Il Crocifisso Graffito* (Rome, 1857); H. P. Liddon, *Bampton Lect.*, p. 397; R. St J. Tyrwhitt in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* p. 516. See also Dr Pusey's notes on the passage in Tertullian in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*.

[4] "Exitiabilis superstitio." *Annals*, XV. 44.

[5] Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 40.

Chap. III.

preached humility and self-renunciation, offering a distant Heaven in return for the pleasures of the present life. Many Christians felt it perilous to the soul to swear the soldier's oath or to undertake municipal offices[1]. True, they were submissive to lawful authority, but the general suspicion against them was so strong, that their professions of allegiance were thought to savour more of policy than of truth.

The Empire persecutes.

The Empire could perhaps scarcely be expected to tolerate in the midst of it such a society. It did in fact persecute the rising sect with a very vigorous animosity, yet not steadily or continuously, but according to the views of various emperors or even of provincial governors. What was at first popular hatred of an obscure sect became in less than three centuries an organised effort of the pagan power to put down its growing rival.

Claudius.

When Suetonius[2] tells us that Claudius expelled from Rome "the Jews who were making constant uproar with one *Chrestus* as a ringleader," he probably refers to the fact that the preaching of Christ set the Jews' quarter at Rome in a commotion. So far however Christianity appears as a Jewish sect, not subject to direct persecution.

Nero.

Rome burnt, A.D. 64.

It is under Nero that the Christians first appear as suffering torture and death, as a sect everywhere spoken against. When Rome was burnt, and rumour assigned the guilt of the deed to Nero himself, he sought to turn the popular rage from himself to the Christians, already the objects of the most unreasonable suspicions. They were sewed up in hides of wild beasts and torn by dogs; they were crucified; they were wrapped in tar-cloth and set on fire. Their "hatred of the human race" was held enough to convict them of this incendiarism, or at all events to justify their punishment[3]. The tendency of the Roman populace to wreak on the Christians the wrath they felt at some civic or national misfortune appears here for the first time.

Domitian, A.D. 81—96.

Yet for some time after Nero we hear no more of persecution of Christians. Even Domitian, whom Tertullian[4] calls a "chip of Nero for cruelty," does not appear to have treated Christians with much greater cruelty than the rest of his subjects. According to some authorities[1] it was in this reign that the apostle John was immersed in boiling oil uninjured and banished to Patmos. That a Flavius Clemens was executed by order of Domitian is an historical fact[2], but we have no authority for identifying him with Clemens the bishop of the Roman Church. In fact, in the authentic records of Domitian's reign, the charge of Christianity is nowhere put forward distinctly as a reason for the executions ordered by the tyrant, though the "atheism" and "superstition" attributed to some of his victims may very possibly be heathen distortions of their Christianity. It is of course only too probable that Christians suffered from outbreaks of popular fury, both in Rome and in the provinces, but we meet with no distinct mention of any action of the state against them until the time of Trajan. It was to him that Pliny the younger, much perplexed at the number of Christians discovered in his government of Bithynia, wrote his famous letter[3]. Was he—he asked the emperor—to punish Christians as such, even if they were guilty of no offence against public law or morality? He himself held that it was his duty to punish those who admitted themselves Christians, and could not be frightened into recanting; for (he said), whatever their superstition might be, they deserved punishment for their obstinacy. Those who consented to worship the gods and the statue of the emperor in a form prescribed by himself, and to curse Christ, he at once dismissed. After putting two deaconesses to the torture, he discovered nothing but a perverse and extravagant superstition. Trajan[4] approved in general Pliny's proceedings, and laid down for his guidance the principle, that no search should be made for Christians, but that those who were brought to the bar should be punished with death, unless they proved their paganism by sacrificing to the gods. Anonymous accusations were to be altogether disregarded.

---

[1] Tertullian, *De Pallio*, 5; *De Cor. Milit.* 11; *Apolog.* 38, 42; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 299 (2nd ed.).

[2] *Claudius*, c. 25.

[3] Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 44. But see C. Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, c. 54.

[4] *Apolog.* c. 5.

Trajan, A.D. 98—117.

Trajan's Rescript, A.D. 111.

---

[1] Tertullian, *De Præscript.* c. 36; Euseb. *H. E.* III. 18.

[2] Suetonius, *Domitian*, c. 15; Dio Cassius [Epit. Xiphilini], LXVII. 14; Euseb. *Chron.* Olymp. 218; Jerome, *Epist.* 96 [al. 27].

[3] *Epist.* x. 96 [al. 97].

[4] Plinii, *Epist.* x. 97 [al. 98]. Compare Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 2.

Trajan carefully limited his decision to the particular case and locality. Still, the emperor's rescript furnished a fatal precedent; henceforth, whenever the magistrates were disposed to persecute Christians, there seems to have been no difficulty in finding law against them[1]. Under Trajan too we hear the ominous cry, "The Christians to the lions!" There was no security against the rage of Jews or heathen. The aged Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, is said to have been crucified to gratify the former[2]; the fury of the populace of Antioch caused Ignatius to be torn by lions in the Coliseum, as a spectacle for the latter[3].

Death of Symeon, A.D. 108, *and Ignatius,* A.D. 107 or 116?

When Christianity itself was recognised as a crime, informers were not wanting, so that even when the emperors were not active persecutors, Christians still suffered from the unreasonable hatred of their pagan neighbours. As the mob of the towns fell into the habit of shouting for the blood of Christians for their own amusement or as an offering to the gods in time of public calamity, Hadrian issued an edict against these riots[4], and required that in all cases proceedings against the Christians should be conducted with the due forms of law. The excellent Antoninus Pius is not commonly regarded as a persecutor, and has the reputation of a kind and just ruler both in pagan and Christian authorities[5]. Yet it is not altogether improbable that it was in his reign that Justin[6] gained the title of "martyr" in Rome itself, being put to death by Urbicus, the prefect of the city, mainly in consequence of the hostility of one Crescens, a Cynic, whom he had denounced as a charlatan; and that in his reign also Polycarp[7], the venerable bishop of Smyrna, was brought to

Edict of Hadrian.

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138—161.

Justin's Martyrdom, A.D. 148?

Polycarp's, A.D. 155?

---

[1] See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. 2—4, and *Apol.* II.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 32.

[3] *Ib.* III. 36. On the *Acts* of the Martyrdom of Ignatius (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 7 ff.; *Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistt.*, *Martyria*, ed. Zahn) see Zahn, *Ignatius v. Antiochien*, pp. 2—56.

[4] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. c. 68; Eusebius *H. E.* IV. 8 and 26.

[5] The rescript πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, however, attributed to Antoninus by Justin (*u. s.*) and to Aurelius by Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 8 and 26) is of very doubtful genuineness. See Keim in *Theolog. Jahrbüch.* 1856, pt. 3.

[6] F. J. A. Hort in *Journal of Philology* (Cambridge), III. 155 ff. It seems however on the whole better to place it, on the authority of Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 16), about A.D. 165.

[7] Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, I. 219; Zahn on *Polycarpi Mart.* c. 21, p. 163 ff. This also is attributed to the reign

Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161—180.

the stake in his own city. The successor of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, the throned Stoic, disliked religious excitement in general[1] and the enthusiasm of the Christians in particular; the wise man should, he thought, endure with patience the thought of extinction after death, and pass out of life undemonstratively[2]. However little belief he had in the old Roman religion, he thought it for the good of the state that it should be maintained. The proceedings of provincial governors against the Christians were at least unhindered, if they were not actually prompted and encouraged by the emperor. A terrible persecution befel the Churches of Lyons and Vienne; in this case, the fury of the populace appears to have been unchecked by the magistrates, and even illegal methods of proceeding were permitted. It was in this storm that the venerable bishop Pothinus of Lyons died. Still, in spite of losses by death and desertion, a remnant was left, and these told their own pathetic story in a letter to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia[3]. To this reign is assigned the miracle of the "Thundering Legion," composed partly of Christians, who in the campaign against the Marcomanni and Quadi are said to have procured rain by their prayers when the imperial army was suffering the last extremity of thirst[4]. The brutal Commodus, the son of the philosopher, is said to have been influenced by his mistress Marcia in favour of Christianity, which accordingly made way among the higher classes in Rome; yet it was under him that Apollonius, a man of high station and distinguished culture, was put to death, together with the slave his accuser[5].

Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, A.D. 177.

The Thundering Legion, A.D. 174.

Commodus, A.D. 180—192.

Septimius Severus, A.D. 193—211.

The reign of Septimius Severus, in other respects also an important epoch, changed the relation of the state to

---

of M. Aurelius (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 15), about A.D. 167—168.

[1] "Si quis aliquid fecerit quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis tenerentur, Divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescripsit." *Digest,* XLVIII. tit. 19, c. 30.

[2] *Meditat.* XI. 3. On the relation of M. Aurelius to Christianity, see F. D. Maurice, *Philosophy,* I. 298 ff. (ed. 1873).

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1—3.

[4] Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 5; *ad Scapulam,* c. 4; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5; Orosius, *Historia,* VII. 15; Dio Cassius [Epit. Xiphilini], LXXI. 8; Julius Capitolinus, *Marc. Anton.* c. 24; See Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant.,* p. 248; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. 'Legio Fulminatrix.'

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 21.

Christianity. He was an African, his wife Julia Domna a Syrian, and the emperors of their race, Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus, were much more oriental than Roman[1]. Men such as these had not the same feeling in favour of the Roman state-religion which had so strongly influenced the Antonines; they rather regarded with interest strange forms of belief and worship. Yet Septimius is reckoned among the persecutors; he referred all cases of holding unlawful assemblies to the judgment of the prefect of the city[2], and forbade with equal sternness conversions to Christianity and to Judaism[3]; confiscation, torture, and death befel many Christians. *About* A.D. 203. In Alexandria and proconsular Africa in particular the persecution was so severe, that men thought the times of Antichrist nigh at hand[4]. Leonides the father of Origen[5], Potamiaena with her mother Marcella, and the soldier Basilides who was her guard[6], were put to death in this persecution; still more famous martyrs of this epoch are the young matrons Perpetua and Felicitas[7] of Carthage; and the twelve martyrs of Scillite[8], in Africa, who bore their testimony before the proconsul Vigellius Saturninus. *Elagabalus*, A.D. 218—222. Elagabalus was himself a dilettante in religion, and tolerated both the Jewish and the Christian fraternities, intending however in the end to permit in Rome no worship but that of Elagabalus[9]. *Alexander Severus*, A.D. 222—235. The emperor Alexander Severus, casting about for objects of veneration in a faithless time, formed a kind of private chapel, in which, with Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana, he set up a bust of Christ[10]; nay, he is said even to have contemplated building a temple to his honour, and adopting Christ among the gods of Rome[11]. His mother, Julia Mammæa, when staying at Antioch, summoned to her presence the great Origen, of whose fame she had heard[12]. Such an emperor was not likely to be an active persecutor; he practically recognized the right of the Christians to exist and worship in the Empire. The laws

---

[1] A. Réville, in *Révue des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1865, pp. 622 ff.

[2] *Digest*, lib. I. tit. 12, c. 14.

[3] Spartianus, *Severus*, c. 17.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 7.

[5] *Ibid.* VI. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* VI. 5.

[7] Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 92 ff.

[8] *Ib.* p. 86 ff.

[9] Lampridius, *Heliogal.* c. 3.

[10] Lampridius, *Alex. Severus*, c. 29.

[11] *Ib.* c. 43.

[12] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 21.

Maximin, A.D. 235—238.

Philip the Arabian, A.D. 244—249.

against Christians were not repealed, but in spite of the existence of these laws, there was for some years no persecution, except a transitory one under Maximin[1], who was ready to persecute whatever his predecessor had favoured; one emperor, Philip the Arabian, is even said to have been a Christian[2]. Christianity was now in the popular estimation no longer the foul superstition that it once had been; it had attracted many of the wealthy and educated class[3]; it had come to be regarded as a religion whose claims must at least be considered; there was no intrinsic reason why it should not take an equal rank with other permitted religions.

Decius, A.D. 249—251.

With Decius came again a change. By this time, the growth of the Christian Church in numbers and influence had become so manifest, that Romans began to see the very existence of Paganism threatened, while at the same time Christianity had lost something of its pristine purity and vigour; the world had entered the Church[4]. Persecutions from this time are no longer mere outbreaks of popular fury, but direct consequences of the action of the state. The earlier persecutions had been partial, and the victims comparatively few[5]; now, persecution was extended systematically to the whole Empire, and a strenuous effort was made to exterminate Christianity. At the very beginning of his reign, Decius issued an edict, commanding governors of provinces under the severest penalties to put in force every means of terrifying the Christians and bringing them back to the old religion[6]. All Christians were to sacrifice to the gods before a certain day, or be handed over to torture; the bishops in particular were marked out for death. Many were the instances of Christian heroism in this pitiless storm, but many fell away and "lapsed"[7] outwardly at least into heathenism. The persecution did not cease even with the death of Decius, for public misfortunes roused the fury of the city mobs

Edict of Decius, A.D. 250.

Gallus, A.D. 251—253.

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 28; Firmilian to Cyprian, Cypriani *Epist.* 75, c. 10.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 34; Jerome, *Chron.* an. 246.

[3] Origen, *c. Cels.* III. 8, p. 117.

[4] Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 6.

[5] Origen *contra Celsum*, III. 8, p. 116.

[6] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Greg. Thaumat.* (*Opera*, III. 567. ed. Paris, 1638).

[7] Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. 'Lapsi,' 'Libelli.'

against the stiff-necked people who would not offer propitiatory sacrifices to the tutelary gods of the state. Among the victims of the Decian period were Fabian, bishop of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem[1]. In this time of distress, the legend says[2], the "Seven Sleepers" began their long slumber at Ephesus; they roused themselves under Theodosius II. to see the despised Cross on every coign of vantage. After a short period of rest, persecution was renewed under Valerian, who directed his attack principally against the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Church, and against senators, knights, and other persons of rank who had joined the hated community[3], thinking probably that if the more distinguished persons were induced to forsake Christ, the multitude would follow of its own accord. In this period of oppression fall the deaths of Sixtus, bishop of Rome, with Laurence his deacon[4], of Cyprian[5] at Carthage, and of Fructuosus[6] at Tarragona. With the sole rule of Gallienus came remission; he put a stop to the existing persecutions, and issued a letter[7] to the bishops, granting them protection, and desiring the pagan authorities to give them back their churches and cemeteries. This implies that the Christian communities were regarded, for the time, as at least lawful associations. Toleration continued under Claudius; Aurelian's preparations for a renewal of persecution were cut short by his death; nor was the Church molested by the government in the first nineteen years of Diocletian. In this period of rest the Church spread abroad greatly; Christians were entrusted with the government of provinces, and even professed their religion openly in the very palace of the emperor[8]. This serenity was soon to be broken by the most severe storm that Christianity had to encounter.

Valerian, A.D. 253—260.

A.D. 258-9.

Gallienus, A.D. 260—268.

Diocletian, A.D. 284—305.

Diocletian[9], the son of a Dalmatian freedman, was one of the ablest rulers that ever mounted the imperial throne. His leading thought was to organize the unwieldly empire. To this end, he associated with himself (A.D. 285) Maximian as a colleague in the Empire, and afterwards (A.D. 293) two others, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, in a somewhat subordinate position, with the title of "Cæsars"; the superior rulers bore the name of "Augusti". Diocletian's love for the old religion, or perhaps his policy, appears in his taking the name of Jovius, while he gave his colleague that of Herculius, as if invoking Jove and Hercules for the protection of the Empire. If the legend may be trusted, Maximianus Herculius soon used his power against the Christians; two years after he became a ruler he is said to have caused the whole of the Theban legion, with their tribune Mauritius, to be put to death in cold blood near Martigny in Switzerland, because they refused to act against the Christians[1]. Diocletian however was not disposed to persecute the Church; on the contrary, in the early part of his reign many Christians had positions of trust about his person; but the Cæsar Galerius, who was his son-in-law, a burly ruffian imbued with heathen superstition[2], became the tool of a party which was eager for the suppression of Christianity as the only means of preserving Paganism. Diocletian shrank from a struggle the horrors of which he clearly foresaw[3], but at last with great reluctance yielded to the urgency of his colleague, and assented to decided measures for the suppression of the faith of Christ. Three edicts appeared in rapid succession in the year 303, and a fourth in the following year, which in effect delivered

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 39—42; Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, and his *Letters* of this period.

[2] First in Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum*, I. 95. Compare the story of Epimenides in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII. 52.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 10, 11; Cyprian, *Epist.* 80.

[4] Prudentius, *Peristeph.* Hymn 2.

[5] *Life of Cyprian* by Pontius, and *Acta Proconsularia* in Ruinart, p. 205 ff.

[6] Ruinart, p. 219 ff.

[7] Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 13.

[8] *Ibid.* VIII. 1.

[9] This Emperor's life has been written by A. Vogel, *Der Kaiser*

The Theban Legion, A.D. 287.

Edicts against Christians, A.D. 303.

Diokletian; Th. Bernhard, *Diocletian in s. Verhältniss zu d. Christen;* Hunziker, *Zur Regierung u. Christenverfolgung d. K. Dioclet.;* A. J. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian* (Camb. 1876); see also Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins;* M. Ritter *De Diocletiano.* On the dates of Diocletian's Edicts, see Th. Mommsen in the *Transactions* of the Berlin *Academie der Wissenschaften,* 1860, pp. 339—447.

[1] This story appears first in a narrative bearing the name of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons about 430 (Ruinart, *Acta Mart.* p. 271 ff.), but possibly the work of a later Eucherius (Rettberg, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands,* I. 94). The genuineness of the account is defended by G. Hickes, *Thebaean Legion no Fable;* J. De Lisle, *Défense de la verité de la Lég. Théb.;* J. Friedrich, *K.-G. Deutschlands,* p. 101 ff.; controverted by J. Dubordieu, *Diss. Crit. sur le Martyre de la Lég. Théb.,* and Rettberg, u. s.

[2] Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* c. 10.

[3] Lactantius *u. s.* c. 11.

over the unfortunate Christians to the fanaticism of mobs and the arbitrary will of provincial governors. By the first edict[1] assemblies of Christians were forbidden; their churches and sacred books were ordered to be destroyed and Church property to be confiscated; those who refused to renounce their faith were to be deprived of all civil rights and dignities; accusations against Christians were to be entertained, and torture might be applied to compel them to recant; Christian slaves, so long as they remained Christian, could not be manumitted. The disturbances which arose in carrying out this edict occasioned still further measures of severity. The second edict[2] directed that all bishops and clergy should be imprisoned. The third[3], issued on the twentieth anniversary (*vicennalia*) of Diocletian's accession, was a kind of grim jest. It bore the form of an amnesty, and ordered the imprisoned clergy to be set at liberty, *if* they would but consent to sacrifice to the gods; if they refused this beneficence, they were to be subjected to torture. Under these edicts, persecution, though no doubt varying much in intensity in different provinces, became severe and general. Many met death with wonderful constancy; old men, tender women, even young children became martyrs, often under circumstances of great horror; but many denied the faith, and many—stigmatised as *traditores*—delivered up the sacred books to save themselves. Still, it was felt that the end of all these horrors was not attained, and in 304 a fourth edict[4] was published, which simply offered Christians the choice between death and sacrifice. Wherever heathen governors and heathen mobs were unfriendly to Christians, the work of torture and death went vigorously on. The greatest weight of this persecution fell on that eastern portion of the empire which was under the immediate rule of Diocletian and Galerius; even their own wives, who are said to have favoured Christianity, were compelled to sacrifice, and court officials were not spared. Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in the year 305, but the work of exterminating the Christians went vigorously on under Galerius and his colleagues. The western provinces, however, Gaul,

Fourth Edict, A.D. 304.

Diocletian and Maximian abdicate, A.D. 305.

---

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* VIII. 2; Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* c. 13.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.* VIII. 6, § 8.

[3] *Ib.* § 10.

[4] Euseb. *De Mart. Palæst.* c. 3.

Constantine Cæsar, A.D. 306.

Spain, and Britain, enjoyed comparative immunity under Constantius Chlorus[1], and afterwards under his son Constantine, who was elevated to the rank of Cæsar by the acclamation of the soldiery on the death of his father at York.

Edict of Toleration, April, A.D. 311

For some eight years the Christians had to endure every kind of maltreatment and death. At last even Galerius was satisfied that it was impossible to annihilate Christianity and give to the gods of Rome their old supremacy. Sick and weary, he consented to put a stop to the massacres which distracted the Empire, and issued from Nicomedia, in conjunction with Constantine and Licinius, an edict[2] in which Christianity is recognized as an existing fact. The terms of this edict, which forms one of the most important epochs in the history of the Church, are much to be observed. The rulers say in their preamble, that they had been anxious to bring back to a good mind those Christians who had deserted the old customs of their forefathers; when, however, they saw that the result had been that many ceased to worship the God of the Christians without returning to the due service of their country's gods, they thought it most accordant with their well-known clemency and tolerance again to permit Christians to meet for worship, so that they did nothing contrary to the peace and good order of the state. They felt sure that the Christians, being now hurt by no persecution, would readily acknowledge the duty of praying to their own God for the emperors and the state, that the Empire might maintain itself intact, and themselves live a peaceable life in their own homes.

Christianity was thus admitted to be a *religio licita.* For nearly three centuries it had been in actual existence; it seemed best, now that it could no longer be treated as an innovation, which was to an antique Roman much the same as an impiety, to attempt to adopt the God of the Christians among those who watched over the well-being of Rome.

This edict did not wholly put a stop to persecution in

---

[1] Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* cc. 15, 16.

[2] Lactantius *De Mort. Persec.* c. 34; Euseb. *H. E.* VIII. 17. See Keim, *Die Röm. Toleranzedicte,* u. s. w., in *Theolog. Jahrbuch,* 1852, pt. 2.

Battle of the Milvian Bridge, A.D. 312.

the Asiatic provinces. But in the year 312 Constantine became master of the whole western empire by his victory over Maxentius, the ruler of Italy, at the Milvian bridge. It was on his way to this decisive battle that he saw the sign in the heavens (☧), afterwards called the Labarum[1], with the words *τούτῳ νίκα*. Maximin, the other great opponent of Christianity, was not put down until the following year.

Edict of Milan, A.D. 313.

The result of the defeat of Maxentius was an edict published at Milan by Constantine and Licinius[2], perhaps the most important ever issued by imperial authority. In this the emperors give full liberty to all their subjects of adopting any form of worship by which the supreme Divinity in the heavens may be propitiated; to Christians in particular, they grant absolute freedom of worship, without any of the limiting conditions to which they had been subjected by previous edicts; the churches were to be restored to their original owners without money or price, whether they had been sold on their confiscation, or granted freely to some favoured person, the emperors undertaking to reimburse those whose property was thus taken away. The same law applied to other property which had belonged to Christian corporations. All these provisions the emperors enjoined their officials to put in force with all completeness and despatch.

Recognition of Christians as a Corporation.

What were the conditions which previously limited the freedom of Christians is not absolutely certain, but it is probable that the edict of 311, which conferred freedom of worship on existing bodies of Christians, did not give them the liberty of making converts; if so, this restriction was removed. When the emperors give full liberty to every form of worship "whereby the Divinity in heaven may be propitiated," they seem still to retain the power of putting down any foul and impious orgies which they judged likely rather to offend than to propitiate the supreme deity. But the essential thing is, that the edict frankly recognized the "corpus Christianorum," the great organized body of Christians which had spread itself over the Empire. It is thus indicated that the policy of the state had undergone a complete revolution. The almost despairing effort of Diocletian and Galerius had been to put down a force which, they thought, tended to dissolve the social coherence of the Empire at a time when it was so sorely in need of unity; in the edict of Constantine and Licinius we see that this attempt is abandoned.

---

[1] Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* c. 44, speaks of this as occurring in a *dream*; Eusebius (*Vita Constantini*, I. 27 ff.) describes it, on the authority of the Emperor himself, as an actual appearance at midday in the heavens. See E. Venables in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. v.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5; Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* c. 48.

Number of Persecutions.

The persecutions were reckoned, before the end of the fourth century, to be ten in number, so as to correspond to the ten plagues of Egypt. The persecutions according to this account were those under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian. The artificial and fallacious character of this enumeration was long ago pointed out by Augustine[1].

Number of Martyrs.

It is impossible to determine with certainty the number of those who suffered. Origen (as we have seen) thought it inconsiderable up to his own time, though at a still earlier date Irenæus[2] speaks of the multitude of martyrs who had passed from earth to God; and in the persecutions under Decius and Diocletian at any rate we can scarcely doubt that very many bore torture and death for the faith of Christ.

Legends.

It was only natural that events terrible in themselves and deeply affecting a great community should be repeated in succeeding generations with much unconscious exaggeration. True and accurate accounts, even notarial records, of many martyrdoms were no doubt preserved, but round these clustered a large number of legends which either arose from the excited imagination of a troublous time or were composed as works of edification rather than of history. Additional infamy was in this way heaped upon the persecutors and additional glory bestowed upon the martyrs. Augustine[3] lamented the scarcity of genuine Acts which might be read in the services.

The Intellectual Attack.

2. While the Church was suffering from the opposition of the civil government and the passions of the mob, it was also attacked by the literary champions of heathen-

---

[1] *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 52.

[2] *Hæres.* iv. 33, 9. See on the whole subject H. Dodwell, *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, p. 56 ff.; Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, Præf. § ii.

[3] *Sermo* 315, c. 1.

Literary opponents.

Fronto, living A.D. 166.

Lucian, died about A.D. 200.

dom. The dislike and suspicion which educated heathen felt for Christianity found definite expression in various writings. The lost oration of Fronto seems to have been an advocate's defence, on legal grounds, of the proceedings against them under Marcus Aurelius. Lucian's light raillery, which found in the Greek mythology subjects for his wit and sarcastic humour, was also turned against Christianity. He does not merely echo the popular prejudice; it is evident from his parody that he had some real knowledge of the manners and customs of Christians, but he only regards the church as one of the varied outgrowths of human folly and superstition. His history of Peregrinus Proteus was no doubt intended, at least in part, to ridicule the supposed credulity of Christians which made them an easy prey to a clever knave; but it shews incidentally how a heathen noticed, without admiring, their brotherly love, their courage in facing death, their belief in immortality.

Celsus, wrote about A.D. 170.

Very different from the light mockery of Lucian is the eager hatred of his contemporary Celsus, a man of keen and vigorous intellect who had really studied, though without sympathy or insight, both Christianity and Judaism. Scepticism has hardly discovered an objection to Christianity which is not contained in some shape or other in the work of Celsus[1]: modern ingenuity has done little more than elaborate the arguments of the ancient dialectician. The credibility of the Gospel history in general, the reality of the Incarnation and the Resurrection, the belief in the Atonement, the very idea of a special revelation of God, are attacked with no mean ability. He utterly repudiates the view of nature in which man appears as the final cause of the world and of all things that are therein, and attempts to set Greek philosophy and religion above the teaching of Christianity, which he accuses of having borrowed—and spoiled—many of the doctrines of Plato; further, he reproaches Christians with their gross, corporeal conception—as he thinks it—of God and things divine. At the same time, he attempts to set the heathen polytheism and idolatry in a more attractive light, and contends that they were not incompatible with the worship of one supreme deity. Altogether, probably no more vigorous assailant than Celsus has ever attacked Christianity. The attack of so skilful a polemic is a sufficient proof that Christianity was regarded as an important phenomenon. However men might assume contempt for it, when a man like Celsus, of high ability, cultivation, and learning, thought it worth while to give it so careful an examination, it had certainly gained attention beyond the ranks of slaves and artizans.

---

[1] He called his book *ἀληθὴς λόγος*. It is known to us only from the reply of Origen, but as Origen quotes his adversary's words and replies point by point, we may gather the original work of Celsus from his pages, just as we may gather "Charity Maintained" from the work of Chillingworth. See C. R. Jachmann, *De Celso disseruit et fragmenta Libri contra Christianos collegit* (Königsberg, 1836); and Th. Keim, *Celsus's Wahres Wort* (Zürich, 1873).

Philostratus, died about A.D. 230.

Apollonius of Tyana, died about A.D. 96.

The remarkable work of Philostratus, the "Life of Apollonius of Tyana"[1], may also be considered as a part of the polemic against Christianity, though of a very different kind from the uncompromising attack of Celsus. Apollonius was a real person, who attained some fame as a magician in the latter part of the first century, but the "Life", written in the early years of the third, is probably so highly idealized as to be little more than a romance with a purpose. It belongs to the syncretistic age of Septimius Severus, when the view began to prevail that the wise man should choose what was best and noblest from all religions, without venturing to assert that any one was absolutely true. Hence Philostratus, who was evidently acquainted with the Gospel history, attempts to set up Apollonius as a kind of Neo-Pythagorean leader and type: he attributes to him the nobleness, the unselfish devotion, the readiness to encounter persecution and death, which are seen in the greatest heroes. He contends, not that Christianity is false, but that Pythagorism deserves to be set above it as a practical religious power. Philosophy, in truth, took at this time a more religious direction[2], and was not wholly disinclined to satisfy its aspirations from a system which had so high claims to be a divine revelation as Christianity.

---

[1] Translated into English by Blount, 1680, and by Berwick, 1809. F. C. Baur has treated this subject fully in his *Apollonius von Tyana und Christus*. See also A. Chassang, *Apollonius de Tyane par Philostrate;* J. R. Mozley in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* I. 135.

[2] Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 2, 490.

Porphyry, A.D. 233—305.

But the man whom the early Christians singled out as their most implacable enemy, their bitterest opponent, was the Neo-Platonist Porphyry. His fifteen books against the Christians were the most famous production of heathen polemics in the third century, and were thought worthy of refutation by such men as Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. The refutations have perished, and but a few fragments[1] remain of the work of Porphyry. To judge from these fragments, Porphyry made his principal attack on the Scriptures, attempting to show that they were unworthy of the divine inspiration attributed to them. He examined the book of the prophet Daniel, contending that it was not written in the sixth century before Christ, but by a later writer who lived under Antiochus Epiphanes, and that it was in fact not prophecy, but history[2]; he found great fault with such expositors as Origen, who shrouded the plain facts of Israelitish history in a veil of allegory[3]; he fastened on the dispute between St Peter and St Paul in Galatia, as an event discreditable to the heads of the community[4]; and he found inconsistencies in the Gospel history itself[5]. To him also appear to be due some questions which have frequently re-appeared in controversy, such as: Why did Christians reject sacrifice, which God Himself had instituted in the Old Covenant?

Yet, with all his keen dialectic against portions of the Christian scheme, Porphyry was probably not without admiration for the character of Christ himself. The Neo-Platonists were not averse to the thought of a "dwelling of God among men[6]"; what they disputed was, the claim of Christ Jesus to be, in an absolute and exclusive sense, God manifest in the flesh; and it was probably with a view of setting up a rival manifestation of the divinity, that Porphyry and Iamblichus wrote the Life of Pythagoras, the "good spirit (δαίμων) dwelling in Samos," in which the great teacher of old Greece is magnified into divine pro-

---

[1] See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, IV. 207.

[2] Jerome, *Proœmium in Daniel.*

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 19.

[4] Jerome, *Proœmium in Galat.*

[5] Jerome, *Dial. contra Pelag.* II. 17. Compare *Epist.* 57. (*Ad Pammach.*) c. 9.

[6] Eunapius, in the Preface to the *Lives of the Sophists*, p. 3, ed. Boissonade (Amst. 1822). Ullmann has discussed the *Influence of Christianity on Porphyry* in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, Heft 2.

Hierocles, circ. A.D. 300.

portions. The same line of thought re-appears in Hierocles, whose "Truth-loving Words" are known to us only in the refutation by Eusebius[1]. He seems to have set himself to show, that miracles in any case only proved the existence of superior power in the wonder-worker, and that the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana were greater and better attested than those of Jesus Christ. He would grant, apparently, that Christ was divine, but not the one only God.

Neo-Platonism and Christianity.

In truth, it can scarcely be doubted that Neo-Platonism was to many minds a "schoolmaster to bring them to Christ;" for it changed the whole character of ancient philosophy. With such men as Plotinus and Proclus, philosophy is no longer purely an affair of dialectic; they are seers and ecstatics, looking for divine revelation through their ascetic and contemplative life, eager to be freed from the chains of sense and to have a nearer view of heavenly beauty. Their system—if system it can be called—was accepted by a large number of the most cultivated men throughout the empire; and when the minds of men were once familiar with the thought of a revelation of God to man, of a divine radiance poured into the soul, they were more ready to acknowledge the revelation of God in Christ, and the life-giving influence of the Holy Spirit.

THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS[2].

Calumnies.

3. The great and victorious answer to heathen calumny was found in the lives of Christians; with praying and dying they overcame the world. But they fought also an intellectual combat with great vigour and success. In the first place, they had to repel the popular calumnies which pursued them. Against the accusation of Atheism they alleged the piety of Christians in their

---

[1] *Contra Hieroclem*, compare Lactantius, *De Mortib. Persec.* c. 16. The destruction of this, and most of the other early writings against Christianity, is mainly due to an edict of Justinian (*Codex*, I. tit. I. const. 3) ordering the suppression of such books.

[2] On the Apologists, see Fabricius, *Delectus Argum. et Syllabus Scriptorum qui veritatem Rel. Chr. asseruerunt;* H. Tzschirner, *Gesch. der Apologetik;* Clausen, *Apologetae Ecclesiae;* G. van Senden, *Gesch. der Apologetik*, translated from the Dutch; W. Jay Bolton, *The Evidences of Christianity as exhibited in the Writings of its Apologists down to Augustine* (Cambridge, 1852); C. Warner, *Gesch. d. Apol. u. Polem. Literatur;* J. Donaldson, *Hist. of Chr. Literature*, vols. 2 and 3; F. Watson, *Defenders of the Faith* (S.P.C.K.).

Dis-loyalty.

Mis-fortunes.

Innovation.

Christianity no innovation.

lives, as visible to their heathen neighbours, and explained the nature of their spiritual worship; charged with unnatural crimes, they pointed out that their religion bound them before all things to purity and holiness of life; accused of treason against the government, they referred to their prayers for the emperor and their quiet submission to a persecuting power. If it was said that the misfortunes of the empire were due to the progress of Christianity, they retorted that it might with at least equal justice be said to be due to the persecution of Christianity. Heathen rhetoricians and philosophers were at last driven back upon the principle that men ought to accept and maintain, in matters of religion, the customs and rites derived from their forefathers—the last refuge of sceptical conservatism. Against this heathen maxim of the duty of submission in all cases to existing authority and tradition the early apologists protest. They contend[1] with great vigour for the rights of conscience and private judgment. If they desert their country's customs, it is only because they have discovered them to be impious; custom is by no means identical with truth[2]. It is our duty to forsake the customs of our country, when better and holier laws require it; we must obey Him who is above all lords[3]. Yet, though obedience would be due to the Gospel of Christ even if it were an innovation, they contended that it was none; it existed already in the days of Abraham and Moses, nay, from the beginning of the world; they represented God in Christ as the source and fount of all good even in the heathen world. The same Word which wrought in Hebrew prophets produced also all the truth and right and nobleness which existed among the Gentiles; all who have lived in accordance with the divine Word or Reason were Christians even though, like Socrates, they were thought atheists; the great achievements of lawgivers and philosophers were not without the Word, though imperfectly apprehended; what was seen incomplete and dispersed in the old world was at last found complete and perfect in Christ[4]. The many phrases in which heathens expressed their sense of one great and good God over all, in spite of a polytheistic form of religion, were "the utterances of a soul naturally Christian"[1]. And while they defended themselves, they did not spare their adversaries, pointing out with great frankness the follies and frequent impurities of heathen worship.

---

[1] Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 24; *ad Scapulam*, c. 2.

[2] Clement, *Strom.* iv. 7 ff.

[3] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v. 32.

[4] Justin Martyr, *Apol. I*, 46; *II*, 10, 13.

Epistola ad Diognetum.

Quadratus and Aristides, about A.D. 130.

Ariston, A.D. 134 (?).

Apollinaris and Miltiades, c. 174.

Justin Martyr. Apologies, A.D. 146?

Perhaps the earliest of the formal defences of Christianity is the Letter[2] in which the unknown writer points out to his enquiring friend Diognetus the absurdities of heathenism, the inadequacy of Judaism, the excellence of the Christian religion. When the emperor Hadrian visited Athens, a defence of Christianity was presented to him by the bishop, Quadratus, and another by a philosopher named Aristides, the former of whom, an old man, says that he had actually seen persons upon whom some of the Lord's miracles had been wrought[3]. Not long after Aristides, Ariston of Pella[4] wrote a defence of Christianity, in the form of a dialogue between a Jewish-Christian named Jason, and Papiscus, an Alexandrian Jew, in which stress was laid on the argument from prophecy. Claudius Apollinaris[5] also, bishop of Hierapolis, and the rhetorician Miltiades[6] presented to the emperor Marcus Aurelius Apologies which had in their day great repute. But the great age of Christian Apologetic is the period of hope and fear which coincides nearly with the reigns of the Antonines. It was then that Justin Martyr, a Christian who retained the philosopher's gown, wrote and presented to the rulers of the world his "Defences" against the unjust charges heaped upon Christians, and pleaded for the protection of the laws of the empire. Let Christians, he urges, at least not suffer except as malefactors; let not their very name be a crime, when all kinds of monstrosities rear their heads in safety; let a philosophic emperor consider, that the very same Word which inspired philosophers spoke in clearer tones through prophets and apostles. He pleaded in vain; the vigour of his attack on the pretensions of paganism in his second Defence probably brought about his own end[1]. His pupil, Tatian the Syrian, attacked the perversions of Greek morality and philosophy with great vigour. Athenagoras, in the "Plea for the Christians" which he addressed to Marcus Aurelius, in a quiet and respectful tone commends to the favour of the emperor his fellow-believers, whom he vindicates from the charges so often brought against them. Probably to the same sovereign and about the same time Melito, the learned bishop of Sardes, addressed a memorial in which he sets forth the injury done to Christians under cover of the imperial edicts, by evil men who desired nothing but plunder; and insisted that the continued prosperity of the empire since the days of Augustus was alone sufficient to show that the star of Christ was propitious[2]. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, in his "Three Books to Autolycus," set himself more particularly to repel the scoffing objections of his acquaintance Autolycus to Christian teaching on the nature of God and the Resurrection; and again, at his friend's request for further information, he went on to speak of the creation and destiny of man, and the venerable antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures. His style is clear and agreeable. Hermias, in his "Worrying of the Pagan Philosophers," retorts upon the heathen the contradictions and absurdities with which they charged Christianity. The "Octavius" of the rhetorician Minucius Felix, a dialogue in the style of Cicero, contains perhaps of all the apologetic writings the clearest statement of the great questions at issue between Christian and pagan, as they presented themselves to educated men in the second century. Cæcilius, who undertakes the defence of heathenism and the attack on Christianity, is permitted by the dialogue-writer to state his case with unsparing vigour, and the Christian Octavius replies, if always with earnestness, yet calmly and fairly. In the end, Cæcilius admits the victory of his friend, in the words, "we are both conquerors; he has conquered me, I have triumphed over error."[3] Tertul-

---

[1] Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 17; compare *De Testimonio Animæ*, passim.

[2] B. F. Westcott, *Canon of N. T.* p. 95 ff. (1st ed.); Dorner, *Person Christi*, I. 178 note; E. W. Benson in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* II. 162 ff. J. M. Cotterill, in *Church Quarterly Rev.* April, 1877, and in *Peregrinus Proteus*, contends that the whole Epistle is a forgery of H. Stephens.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 3; compare Jerome, *Catalogus*, c. 19 f.

[4] Origen, *c. Celsum*, IV. 52, p. 199, Spencer; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 477, Dindorf.

[5] Eusebius *H. E.* IV. 27.

[6] *Ib.* V. 17.

Tatian wrote c. A.D. 170.

Athenagoras, c. A.D. 177.

Melito, A.D. 177?

Theophilus, wrote about A.D. 180.

Hermias.

Minucius Felix, c. 180?

---

[1] See above, p. 40.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26. The Syriac text of a speech of Melito's is given by Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum.*

[3] *Octavius*, c. 39.

Tertullian, Apol. c. 198.

lian burst forth with his glowing southern rhetoric against the ignorant hatred of Christians which prevailed in the Empire; they were treated with a harshness which violated the first principles of right; yet they were good subjects, though they offered no incense to the emperor; their lives were purer, their religion was nobler, than that of their heathen neighbours; who could think of the old mythologic fables without scorn? If Celsus is in many respects the type of those who from age to age have attacked Christianity with cleverness and learning, Origen is equally the type of the honest, able, learned, and laborious defender. He fastens upon the work of Celsus, which seems to have been a hundred years in the world without meeting with an adequate refutation, and deals with it clause by clause; the attacks of the pagan on the credibility of the Gospel history, on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, on the idea of revelation; his attempts to set philosophy above the teaching of Christ, and polytheism above the true worship; his misconceptions of Christian ideas,—all these are taken in turn and exposed or refuted. "Christian worship"—says Origen in the reign of Decius—"shall one day prevail over the whole world[1]."

Origen against Celsus, about A.D. 249.

---

[1] *c. Celsum*, VIII. 68; p. 423, Sp.

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHURCH.

EARLY SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL[1].

Eastward. *Edessa.*

Chaldæa.

Armenia.

1. IN spite of persecution, perhaps because of persecution, the Church grew rapidly. Even before the last Apostle left the earth, the light which rose in Palestine had struck the three great peninsulas of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; in another generation it had reached almost the whole coast of the Mediterranean, then the great highway of nations. It followed in the track of the Jewish Dispersion; wherever there was a Hebrew colony, there was also a Christian Church. Merchants brought back from their journeys the news of the Pearl of great price. The messengers of peace followed in the track of the Roman armies, and liberated captives carried to their homes the tidings of the new religion which was pervading the Empire[2]. Everywhere, from the workshop to the palace, were found devoted men, working quietly yet earnestly for the furtherance of the Gospel[3]. Looking first to the eastward, we find that in Edessa, the capital of Osroene, the Church first ascended a throne; we must no doubt reject as a forgery the correspondence of Abgar with the Lord Jesus[4], but one of its kings, Abgar Bar Manu, does seem to have been converted to Christianity about A.D. 165[5]. The Chaldæan Christians look upon Maris, a disciple of St Thaddæus[6], as their apostle. The existence of Christian churches in Roman Armenia as early as the

---

[1] See J. Fabricius, *Salutaris Lux Evangelii;* J. Wiltsch, *Geography and Statistics of the Church,* trans. by Leitch.

[2] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 6.

[3] Eusebius, *H.E.* III. 37.

[4] Euseb. *H.E.* I. 13.

[5] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 56; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orient.* I. 389, 423.

[6] G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (London, 1876).

third century is proved by the fact that a letter was addressed to them by Dionysius of Alexandria[1]. Pantænus, head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, is said to have been a missionary of the faith in "the land of the Indians," by which we are probably to understand Arabia Felix[2]; an Arabian chief, or perhaps rather a Roman procurator stationed in Arabia, is said to have desired that the great Origen should be sent to him as his instructor[3]; and about the same period we find Bostra in Arabia mentioned as a bishop's see[4]. In Persia the Christian faith was widely spread when Arnobius[5] wrote, towards the end of the third century. There were numerous churches in Syria and in Asia Minor from Apostolic times. In Bithynia, the well-known letter of Pliny[6] to Trajan is an impregnable testimony to the number of Christian converts about A.D. 106. The Cappadocian Cæsarea had for its bishop in the middle of the third century the well-known Firmilian, Cyprian's correspondent.

Arabia.

Persia.

Syria.

Asia Minor.

Turning now to Africa, we find from the very dawn of ecclesiastical history a church at Alexandria, the home of the learned Apollos. St Mark was regarded as its founder and first bishop. Dionysius, who became bishop in 246, was one of the most famous men of the age in which fell the Decian persecution. Of the first beginnings of the Church in Proconsular Africa, in Mauritania and Numidia, nothing is known; it may probably have received its Christianity from Italy[7]; certainly the North-African is to us the earliest Latin church. However originated, Christianity spread so rapidly in these fervid regions, that early in the third century Tertullian[8] speaks—perhaps a little rhetorically—of Christians forming the majority in every town. At the end of the second century, Agrippinus bishop of Carthage is said to have assembled a large number[9] of African and Numidian bishops, and Cyprian, who held the same see in the middle of the third

Alexandria.

Africa.

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 46.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* V. 10. See Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant.* sæc. II. § 2. p. 206.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 19.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 33.

[5] *Adv. Gentes*, II. 7.

[6] *Epist.* X. 96 [al. 97].

[7] Tertullian is thought to derive it from Rome (*De Præscriptione*, c. 36), and his words at least prove an intimate connexion between Rome and Africa.

[8] *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2.

[9] "Episcopi plurimi," Cyprian, *Epist.* 73, c. 3.

century, was able to assemble eighty-seven bishops[1] from the three North-African provinces.

Thrace.

Passing over to Europe, we find Anchialus on the east coast of Thrace the see of a bishop in the middle of the second century; Byzantium, not yet dreaming of becoming the seat of the greatest patriarchate of the East, seems to have received its first bishop early in the third century; Heraclea had a bishop who received the crown of martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian.

Macedonia.

Of the churches of Macedonia, after the apostolic age, scarcely a trace is found in the records of the first three centuries.

Achaia.

Passing onward into Achaia, we find little enduring effect of St Paul's work in Athens, where the whole city was deeply imbued with Hellenic culture and worship; but at Corinth, where there was a less purely Hellenic population, the Christian community maintained itself from the days of the apostle. Hegesippus on his journey to Rome found there a church, with Primus as bishop, who was succeeded by a more famous man, Dionysius[2].

Rome.

Of the history of the church of Rome[3] in early days we have but scanty records. That it received the Gospel in very early times we know from the testimony of St Paul. The earliest Christians of whose sojourn in Rome we have any authentic account are Aquila and Priscilla[4], St Paul's companions.

Other Italian cities.

The foundation of many other churches in Italy is ascribed by tradition, often early tradition, to immediate disciples of the apostles. Such sub-apostolic churches are found in Milan, Bologna, Lucca, Fiesole, Ravenna, and Aquileia, the latter of which claims St Mark as its founder. The church of Bari in Apulia boasts to have received its first bishop, Maurus, from the hands of St Peter himself; and similar legends are found in the doubtless ancient churches in many parts of Italy[5].

Spain.

The visit of St Paul to Spain, though probable, cannot be regarded as certain; that of St James the son of Zebedee, whose supposed tomb at Compostella has been an object of veneration for so many generations, may safely be set down as apocryphal. An inscription[1] thanks the excellent Nero for having cleared the Spanish province from robbers, and from the presence of those who would have subjected mankind to a new superstition. It is however highly improbable that any part of Spain was over-run with Christians in the days of Nero, though churches no doubt existed there in early times[2]. At the council of Illiberis[3] [Elvira] in the year 306 nineteen Spanish bishops were present. In the Valerian persecution the Spanish church had its martyrs in the persons of bishop Fructuosus of Tarragona and the deacons Augurius and Eulogius[4].

---

[1] Heading of the *Conc. Carthag.* of A. D. 256, in Cyprian's *Works*, p. 433 (Hartel).

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 21, 22.

[3] See p. 22.

[4] Acts xviii. 2.

[5] See Selvaggio, *Antiquitates Christ.* lib. I. cc. 5—7; and Lami, *Deliciæ eruditorum*, tom. VIII, præf. p. 25 ff.; tom. XI, præf.

Gaul.

Gaul received its first Christianity by the well-known commercial route from Asia Minor to Marseilles. The legends of the preaching of Lazarus, of Martha, or of Mary Magdalene in southern Gaul[5] do but represent the fact, that very ancient Christian communities existed there[6]. At the synod of Arles[7] (A. D. 314), the bishops of Rheims, Rouen, Vaison, Bordeaux, and Orange were present, as well as representatives of other churches.

Germany.

Danubian Provinces.

Both Irenæus[8] and Tertullian[9] speak of churches existing in their time in Germany, that is, in the Roman provinces on the Rhine. The churches of Treves, Metz, and Cologne have undoubtedly existed from very early times, and Maternus, bishop of the latter city, is said[10] to have been summoned to Rome (A.D. 313) to aid in deciding on the Donatist controversy. In the Danubian provinces we find early traces of the establishment of Christian churches. The oldest of these is thought to be that of Lorch[11], whose bishop Maximilian died a martyr's death in the year 285; in the great persecution of 303, Afra[12] appears as a martyr of the Church in Augsburg, and Victorinus of Pettau in Styria; in the same persecution fell the bishop of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia. Even the wild Goths, who troubled the borders of the empire, seem in the second century to have received some tidings of Christianity from captives of their sword.

---

[1] Gruter, *Thesaurus Inscript.* p. 238, no. 9. The inscription is however doubted by Scaliger, and utterly rejected by Muratori.

[2] Irenæus, *c. Hæres.* I. 10. § 2; Tertullian, *adv. Judæos*, c. 7.

[3] Hardouin, *Concilia*, I. 250.

[4] *Acts* in Ruinart, p. 218. Ed. Amst. 1713.

[5] See Petrus de Marca, *Epist. de Evang. in Gallia initiis*, in Valesius's edition of Eusebius.

[6] For the massacres of Lyons and Vienne, see p. 41.

[7] Hardouin, *Concilia*, I. 266 f.

[8] *Hæres.* I. 10. § 2.

[9] *adv. Judæos*, c. 7.

[10] Optatus of Milevis, *cont. Donatistas*, I. 23.

[11] See the *Chronicon Laureacense*, in Pez, *Scriptores Rerum Austriac.*, tom. I.

[12] Ruinart, p. 455.

Britain.

The origin of British Christianity is unknown. The tradition that St Paul preached in Britain is supported by no early authority, and probably originated in a misinterpretation of a well-known passage in Clement of Rome[1]; nor is much credit given to the Venerable Bede's account[2], that a British prince, Lucius, sought and obtained preachers of the Gospel from the Roman bishop Eleutherius. The Gospel probably here, as in so many other cases, followed the track of the Roman soldiers and colonists; at the beginning of the third century, Tertullian[3] boasts that the armies of Christ had penetrated parts of Britain where those of Rome had failed. In the persecution under Diocletian the centurion Albanus or Albinus is said to have fallen for the faith at Verulam[4], giving the first British sufferer to the martyrologies. At the synod of Arles three British bishops, those of York, London, and Lincoln, are said to have subscribed[5].

A.D. 177—192.

General Result.

Thus Christianity in three centuries had penetrated the greater part of the Roman empire, and even in some cases passed beyond its boundaries. We ought not perhaps to understand quite literally the rhetorical expression of early apologists, when they tell us that the Christians, the growth of yesterday, had filled the courts, the camps, the council-chambers, even the very palaces of the Cæsar[6]; but it is clear that in the time of Constantine, if the Christians did not form the most numerous portion of his subjects, they were the most powerful; in the decline of national feeling, no other body of men was left, so numerous and widely spread as the Christian Church, animated by one spirit and subject to one rule[7].

---

[1] Τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. *I Corinth.* c. 5.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* I. 4; see Hussey's note.

[3] *Adv. Judæos*, c. 7; compare Origen, *in Matt.* Tract. 38; Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* III. 7.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* I. 6, 7.

[5] The documents relating to early British Christianity are collected in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Documents*, vol. I.

[6] Tertullian, *Apologet.* 37; see also Justin Martyr, *Dial. with Trypho*, c. 117; Irenæus, *Hæres.* I. 10; Arnobius, *Disp. adv. Gentes*, I. 16.

[7] On the spread of Christianity, see the remarkable passage of Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, XXII. 5.

ASIATIC CHURCHES.

2. To come to the more particular consideration of the several churches. Nowhere was there greater religious activity than in the early Syrian home of Christianity and in the neighbouring Asia Minor. The people of these regions seem to have been naturally disposed to religion, and that with a heat and a tendency to mysticism which sometimes led them astray. It was there that the Jewish converts clung most tenaciously to their ancient rites. It was there that the anticipation of a thousand years' reign of Christ on earth was most deeply rooted and adorned with the most fantastic imagery. It was there that Montanism found its earliest followers.

General Character.

We cannot fail to be conscious of a falling-off in spiritual power when we pass from the writings of the Apostolic age to those which immediately succeeded. There is a life and fire in those earlier works which is wanting in the later. Moreover, the period immediately succeeding the Apostles is practical rather than speculative; the Christian communities of this age show us rather renewed life than intellectual movement. It is a period of growth rather than of blossoming. The struggle against Judaism and heathendom and the work of organizing the churches absorbed a large portion of the energies of Christians[1].

Barnabas's Epistle, A.D. c. 75?

If the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas[2] be really the work of the apostle, it belongs to Syria; for we know him in connexion with Jerusalem and Antioch rather than with his native country of Cyprus. It is however in Alexandria[3], where it was placed almost on an equality with the canonical writings, that we first find the epistle distinctly mentioned, and some portions of its contents tempt us to believe that it may have been the work of an Alexandrian. Its tone is decidedly anti-Judaic. The covenant of God with Israel through Moses was annulled from the very first, when the lawgiver, coming down from the mount, broke the Tables of the Law. But if there is no profit in the Old Law taken literally, in its spiritual (i.e. allegorical) sense there is much to be found which is instructive for Christians; to discover this is the true Gnosis. In the Law we may find gnostically Jesus Christ, His Cross, and His Sacraments. The Law in its true import belongs to Christians and not to Jews. This teaching is Pauline, so far as it lays down that Christians need not observe the Jewish law, but it displays none of St Paul's yearning love for his countrymen. One of the most venerated teachers of the Syrian church was Ignatius[1] (Egnatius), known also by the Greek name Theophorus, bishop of the church in Antioch. He was reputed to have been a pupil of St John the Apostle[2], and doubtless prolonged into the second century the traditions of the first. This aged bishop the emperor Trajan, on his visit to Antioch, condemned to death and sent to Rome to die. On his last journey he wrote letters[3] to his friend Polycarp at Smyrna and to the churches in various cities—letters which have all the earnest simplicity—sometimes almost eloquence—which we should expect from one who was

---

[1] See J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, Epoch I. ch. I.

[2] W. Cunningham, *A Dissertation on the Epistle of S. Barnabas*, with Greek Text edited by G. H. Rendall. Professor Milligan (in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 262) thus sums up the principal opinions as to the genuineness of the Epistle: "The authorship of Barnabas is rejected by, among others, Neander, Ullmann, Hug, Baur, Hefele, Winer, Hilgenfeld, Donaldson, Westcott, Müller; while it is maintained by Gieseler, Credner, Guericke, Bleek, Möhler, and (though with hesitation) De Wette."

[3] Clement Alex. *Strom.* II. 6. 31; 7. 35, etc. See J. B. Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, p. 12.

Ignatius,
d. 116?

---

[1] Theod. Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien.* Gotha, 1873.

[2] *Mart. Ignatii*, c. 1.

[3] Eusebius, *H.E.* III. 36. The history of the letters attributed to Ignatius is curious. After the criticisms of Ussher (1644) and J. Vossius (1646) it was generally admitted that only seven—out of a much larger number attributed to him—were genuine; but even these were assigned by Daillé (J. Dallæus, *de Scriptis quæ sub Dionysii et Ignatii nomm. circumferuntur.* Genevæ, 1666) to a date not much before the reign of Constantine. With Daillé J. Pearson (*Vindiciæ Ignat.* Camb. 1672) joined issue, contending for the genuineness of the seven epistles. The aspect of the question was materially changed by the discovery (1836) in the Nitrian desert of a Syriac translation of three epistles, which thenceforward were regarded by many as the only genuine portion (W. Cureton, *The ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of Ignatius*, 1845; C. C. J. von Bunsen, *Die drei echten... Briefe des Ign.* 1847). F. C. Baur, who admitted the genuineness of none of the epistles, replied to Bunsen in his *Die Ignat. Briefe u. ihr neuester Kritiker* (1848). Denzinger, Hefele, Chr. Wordsworth and others still maintained the genuineness of the seven epistles. A good and careful edition is that by Theod. Zahn (*Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ Martyria Fragmenta*, Lipsiæ, 1876). Bishop Lightfoot (*The Apostolic Fathers*, part II) has convincingly shewn the futility of the objections to the genuineness of the seven epistles. The "Curetonian Syriac" is now generally regarded as a series of extracts (Zahn, p. v). In the text I have assumed that the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp are genuine.

going to meet his death. In the storm which he foresees he implores Christians to cling together in love and to obey those who had the rule over them. He is eager to warn them against the errors of the time, especially against the Judaic Gnosticism which troubled some of the Asiatic Churches in the first century[1]. For himself he only desires to be with Christ; he would not have his friends at Rome take measures to deliver him, even if it were possible. After the departure of Ignatius there yet remained one who was born within the apostolic age and was the depositary of many of its traditions—the venerable Polycarp, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. His nearness to the primitive teachers of the Church, his prophetic gift, his constant prayers for the Church dispersed throughout the world[2], gave him high authority throughout the churches of Asia. It was no doubt in recognition of his position as well as of his personal qualities that Anicetus, bishop of Rome, allowed him to consecrate the Eucharist in the Roman Church in his own presence[3]. The letter which he, as the representative of the Smyrnæan presbytery, wrote to the Philippians is principally composed of practical exhortations to sobriety of life and doctrine in the midst of the trials which encompassed them. It is especially valuable for its abundant citation of the Scriptures of the New Testament. Contemporary with Polycarp was Papias[4], bishop of Hierapolis, probably the first collector of anecdotes in the Christian Church. He made it the business of his life to gather from the lips of those who had known the Apostles such memories as still survived of the first age, which were not embodied in written gospels. From such researches he compiled five books of the sayings of the Lord[5]. He was respected as one of the "old school," but his judgment was weak, and his collection contained many puerilities. He had a strong expectation of a corporeal reign of the Lord on earth for a thousand years. Hegesippus[6], who wrote during the episcopate of Eleutherus of Rome, was of Jewish origin.

Polycarp,
† c. 160.

Papias,
† c. 162.

Hegesippus wrote
c. 180.

---

[1] J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 76 ff.

[2] *Mart. Polycarpi*, 5, 16.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, 17.

[4] Irenæus, v. 33. 4; Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 39.

[5] Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. Only fragments remain, collected in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patres Apostolici*, I. II. 87 ff.

[6] Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 8, 22.

CHAP. IV.

Of his life scarcely anything is known, except that he was at Rome in the time of bishop Anicetus, and that he visited Corinth on his journey thither[1]. His "Memoranda[2]" (*ὑπομνήματα*) have commonly been regarded as a collection of materials for history from the beginning of the Church to his own time. It must however in this case have been a strange arrangement which placed the death of St James the Just in the fifth and last book. Moreover, Eusebius places him first on the list of those who had written against the Gnostic heresies. As he is not known to have written more than one work, it seems not improbable that it was in controverting heresy that he narrated some portions of the early history of the true Church. In spite of his origin, he can scarcely have been a partizan of Judaic Christianity; his commendation of the certainly not anti-Pauline epistle of Clement seems to shew to the contrary; and his condemnation of a passage nearly identical with one found in St Paul (1 Cor. ii. 9) was probably directed not against the apostle but against the Gnostics, whom we know that he opposed[3]. Clement, in fact, whom Hegesippus approves, quotes the very same passage for the same purpose as the apostle. Moreover Eusebius, who had his whole work before him, speaks of him as having preserved the unerring tradition of the apostolic preaching—an expression which he could not have used if he had been decidedly hostile to St Paul.

Not a Judaizer.

CHURCHES IN GAUL.

An offshoot of the Church of Asia Minor established itself in Gaul. There the Greeks who composed it learned the speech of their Keltic neighbours and taught them the faith of Christ. The first head of the Christian community was Pothinus; and when he fell in hoary age by a barbarous death, another Asiatic took his place. This was Irenæus[4], an earnest Christian[5], a pupil of the venerable Polycarp. He delighted to tell how through his master he had been brought close to the traditions of the time when apostles, and others who had seen the Lord, yet

Irenæus, bishop 178.

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 22.

[2] Fragments in Routh's *Reliquiae*, I. 205 ff.; and in Grabe's *Spicilegium*, II. 203 ff.

[3] W. Milligan, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 877.

[4] See the Prolegomena to the editions of Irenæus by Stieren and by W. W. Harvey; also J. Beaven, *An Account of the Life and Writings of S. Irenæus* (Lond. 1841); R. A. Lipsius in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 253.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4, 5.

moved on earth; how he could point out the very seat where the old man had sate and talked of the days of his youth[1]. He became a kind of patriarch of the churches throughout Gaul. He too is said to have suffered martyrdom under Septimius Severus. Such a man was naturally grieved and angered at any departure from the simplicity of the faith. The startling progress of Gnosticism moved him to write his "Confutation and Oversetting of Knowledge falsely so called," a work partly founded on the now lost *Syntagma* of Justin Martyr. Of this work, which is of the highest value for the history of the early heresies, only fragments remain in the original Greek, but the whole is preserved in an archaic and evidently very literal Latin translation. It was perhaps because his other works contained opinions—such as Chiliasm[2]—which ceased to prevail, or even were condemned, in the Church, that they were in after time little quoted and allowed to perish. In his attachment to the faith of his youth and his eagerness to save the Church of Christ from being divided and ruined by unheard-of novelties of hasty wits, Irenæus is certainly one of the most interesting figures of his time.

died 202 (?).

Among Asiatic writers may also be mentioned Julius Africanus[3]. He appears to have passed his early life in Asia Minor; afterwards we find him living at Nicopolis [Emmaus] in Palestine, and thence corresponding with Origen. His Chronographia, an attempt to synchronize the events of sacred and profane history on which Eusebius based his Chronicon, is unfortunately lost. His letter to Origen, on the authorship of the History of Susannah, shews considerable power of criticism.

Julius Africanus, † c. 232.

Here may also be noticed Dorotheus of Antioch and his contemporary Lucian the martyr, in whom we find the first beginning of that sound school of scriptural interpretation which distinguished Antioch in the following centuries. Of the first of these Eusebius[4] tells us that he was a man of liberal mind and of Greek culture, able also to read the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew;

Dorotheus, fl. 290, *and Lucian*, † 311.

---

[1] Irenæus III. 3. 4; Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 14; V. 20.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 31; *Dem. Evang.* VIII. 2; *Præp. Evan.* X. 10; Basil, *De Sp. Sancto.* c. 29; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. 21. The fragments are collected in Routh's *Reliquiae*, II. 219 ff.

[4] *H. E.* VII. 32; IX. 6.

of the second, that he was not only a man of pure and active life, but also well disciplined in sacred learning.

ARMENIAN CHURCH. *Gregory, Bp.* 302.

In Armenia[1] Christian communities are said to have existed in the time of Tertullian; but it is to Gregory the Illuminator[2] that Christianity owes its victory over persecution and its recognition as a national Church. He became the first Metropolitan or Catholicus of Armenia, and so strongly did his character impress the people, that for some generations the Catholicus was chosen from his family.

ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

3. The revelation made in Christ did not come into the world as philosophy, but as fact. The great fact which lies at the root of all Gospel teaching is the Incarnation of the Son of God for the redemption and renewal of man. But it soon became evident that a system, which claimed to deal authoritatively with the destiny of man and his relation with the Deity, must have some kind of contact with systems of philosophy which attempted the same task; it must either abrogate them or define the relation which it bore to them. And again, it is scarcely possible for man to receive momentous truths into his mind without some attempt to explain them, to systematize them, to allot them their place in the general history of the world. This process of connecting the great truths of Christianity with the truths already known, and of blending Christian teaching with the intellectual life of the world, began early. Justin Martyr[3] was not satisfied to regard revelation as given only to the then small body of Christians. He, though born in the city built on the site of the ancient Sichem, was almost certainly of Hellenic race and certainly a pagan by early training. His love of

Justin Martyr, †148?

---

[1] Moses Choron., *Hist. Armen.* lib. III. (ed. Whiston, Lond. 1736); Chamick, *Hist. of Armenia*, trans. by Avdall (Calcutta, 1827); S. C. Malan, *A Short History of the Georgian Church, from the Russian of Joselian* (London, 1866); G. Williams in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 163.

[2] Agathangelus, *Acta S. Greg.*, in *Acta SS.* Sept. tom. VIII. p. 402 ff. S. C. Malan, *The Life and Times of Gregory the Illuminator* (from the Armenian), with a *Short Summary of the Armenian Church*, etc. (London 1868).

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 16—18; Jerome, *Catal.* 23; Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. 125.—J. Kaye, *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin M.*; J. Donaldson, *Christian Literature*, II. 62 ff.; H. S. Holland in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* III. 560 ff.; C. Semisch, *Justin Martyr*, trans. by J. E. Ryland (Edinb. 1843); Otto, *Zur Charakteristik d. H. Justin.*

learning drove him to philosophy, but in the philosophic schools he found no rest; there was always something wanting. He was impressed by the constancy with which the Christians bore their sufferings for the truth's sake[1], and—if we are to take the introduction to the Dialogue with Trypho[2] as an account of a real incident in his own life—an old man who accosted him as he walked on the shore directed him to the prophets and to Christ. But he was still a philosopher[3]; he regarded his conversion as a passing from an imperfect to the perfect philosophy. To the Gentiles also, to the old philosophers and legislators, something of the divine Word was given, though but as a germ[4]; the full revelation of the Word was found only in the Incarnate Son. Even the Law given to the Jews was, as a mere historical fact, mean and imperfect, but the truths typified in the Law and foreshadowed in the Prophets were great and glorious[5]. Justin was not a great man, though he had extensive knowledge; his style is commonplace and often inaccurate; but he represents a tendency which largely influenced the Church at a most critical period.

Alexandria.

But it was in Alexandria that Christian philosophy attained the highest development which it reached in the period which we are now considering. That famous city, situated almost at the meeting-point of three continents, became soon after its foundation a centre of intellectual life. When national barriers fell before the universal dominion of Rome, the great problems of the nature and destiny of man, as man, engaged more closely the attention of mankind; and nowhere was man so cosmopolitan as at Alexandria. Thither flowed the thoughts of Greece and Rome, to mingle with those of Syria and Arabia, of Persia and India, and of Egypt itself. Here, more than elsewhere, philosophy required Christianity to give an account of its existence and its work.

In Alexandria, as in other cities, there was in early times—we cannot tell exactly how early—a school for the instruction of candidates for Christian baptism. Here

---

[1] *Apol.* II. 12.

[2] *Dial.* c. 3.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 11, § 8; *Dial.* c. 1.

[4] *Apol.* II. 8, 10.

[5] *Dial. w. Trypho*, c. 16 ff.

Clement,
c. 191.
c. 202.

alone this Catechetic School[1] became a philosophic training-college, to which many of the most distinguished ecclesiastics owed their early education. The first head of this school whose name we know is Pantænus, once a Stoic philosopher, then, after some years' presidency over the Alexandrian School, a missionary in the East[2]. He however is famous only through his pupils; no works of his remain. Titus Flavius Clemens[3]—a Greek, in spite of his Roman name—after wandering unsatisfied through the schools of philosophy, found a satisfactory teacher in Pantænus, whose assistant he became, and whom he ultimately succeeded in the management of the School. In the persecution under Severus he withdrew from Alexandria, and the last glimpse we have of him is at Jerusalem in the year 211. His principal extant works—the 'Address to the Greeks,' the 'Tutor,' and the 'Miscellanies'—correspond to the three stages of Christian life, conversion, conduct, contemplation. He was not an original or independent thinker, but he was well acquainted with the current systems of philosophy, and saw more clearly than most of his contemporaries the great stream of the world's history. He is not an adherent of one particular school; when he speaks of philosophy he means, not the Stoic or the Platonic, the Epicurean or the Aristotelian, but whatever each sect has taught which tends to righteousness of life and reverent science[4]. He selects, in fact, from the several systems such portions as correspond with the teaching of Christ.

Origen,
born 185.

But a greater teacher still was Origen[5], a born Alexandrian, and subjected from his earliest youth to the influences of his native place. He was the son of a Christian martyr, Leonides, whose martyrdom he was only prevented from sharing by the tender care of his mother. Religiously brought up, he devoted his aspiring spirit, iron will, and untiring industry to the Alexandrian learning. From Clement, who left Alexandria in the year of his father's death, he probably learned more through his writings than through oral instruction; but he was a pupil in the philosophic school of Ammonius Saccas, commonly regarded as the founder of Neoplatonism, from whom he no doubt received a lasting influence. He was but eighteen when 203. he became head of the Catechetic School, where, poor as he was, he declined to receive fees from his pupils, preferring rather to confine his wants within the limits of his narrow means. Here he soon left to an assistant the training of the younger children, while he led his more advanced hearers through Hellenic culture to an intelligent comprehension of Scripture and to a Christian philosophy. His irregular ordination as presbyter at Cæsarea brought 228. upon him the displeasure of his bishop, Demetrius, already jealous of his fame, who drove him from the Church of Alexandria. The neighbouring Churches however con- 231. tinued to hold him in honour, in spite of the hostility of his bishop, and he lived thenceforward commonly at Cæsarea, surrounded by pupils. Twice during this period he was summoned to synods held in Arabia against heretics (Beryllus of Bostra and the "Arabici"), and on both 244, 248. occasions he succeeded in convincing them of their error. In the persecution under Decius he endured great suffering with steadfastness, but died soon after. His writings *d.* 254. are preserved partly in the original Greek, partly in the Latin translation of Rufinus. No name marks a more distinct epoch in the Church than that of Origen. Whatever may be the faults of his Scriptural exposition, he was the first to apply philology to the study of the Bible, the first who was conscious of the necessity of settling its text on a firm basis of documents. And his work on "Principles" (περὶ ἀρχῶν) may be said to be the first treatise on systematic theology which the Christian Church produced. No one of his time, few of any time, manifested the same anxiety to discern the element of truth in

---

[1] H. E. F. Guerike, *De Schola quæ Alexandriae floruit Comm. Hist.*; C. F. G. Hasselbach, *De Schola quæ Alexandriae floruit Catechetica.*

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 10; Jerome, *Catalogus*, c. 36.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 13 f.; Jerome, *Catal.* c. 38; Photius, *Cod.* 109.—J. Kaye, *Account of Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria;* F. Eylert, *Clemens als Philosoph. u. Dichter;* H. Reinkens, *De Clemente;* H. Reuter, *Clementis Theologia Moralis;* Hébert-Duperron, *La Polemique et La Philos. de Clem.*; F. D. Maurice, *Moral and Metaph. Philos.* i. 307 ff. (ed. 1873).

[4] *Stromat.* i. p. 338.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 16, 18 f., 23 ff., 30, 32, 36, 39; vii. 1; Jerome, *Catal.* no. 54.—D. Huet, *Origeniana*, prefixed to his edition of the *Commentaries*, and reprinted in Delarue's ed. of Origen's Works, Vol. iv.; C. Thomasius, *Origenes;* Redepenning, *Origenes' Leben u. Lehre;* [G. Rust] *Letter concerning Origen and his Opinions*, in *the Phenix*, i. 1 (London, 1707); B. F. Westcott, *Origen and Chr. Phil.*, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1879.

His character and influence.

the tenets of the several warring schools; no one combined in an equal degree purity of life and Biblical learning with wide knowledge and capacity for philosophical speculation. His influence on the Church has probably not been less than that of Athanasius or Augustine; and even those who in after time condemned his tenets were themselves influenced by his method.

Alexandrian Tenets.

Clement and Origen were in some respects wide asunder; yet they have much in common, and the views which both held we may consider as representing the doctrines of the Alexandrian School. Both are sympathetic students of philosophy, and both seek a system which may throw light upon the history of the universe. Both develope the doctrines which are implicitly contained in the bare facts of Christianity, avoiding on the one hand the narrowness of Judaism, on the other, the unlicensed speculations of Gnosticism. In the writings of Clement and Origen, broadly considered, we may find something of a system.

Alexandrian System.

God alone is purely incorporeal energy. As this energy can never be idle, an infinite series of worlds must have preceded the present and an infinite series must follow[1]. *Creation. Mankind.* The present world is the refuge and the school of souls who have sinned in another state of existence. Here they expiate their guilt[2]; but as no spiritual being ever loses its freedom of will, they have the capacity for raising themselves out of their degradation to a higher life[3]. Even the condemned suffer purifying, not everlasting, punishment[4]. *Revelation.* God has revealed Himself at various times and in many ways through the Word to the peoples of the earth. Philosophy was a tutor to bring the Gentiles to Christ, as the Law to bring the Jews[5]; for the highest and final revelation is that made in the Incarnation of Christ. *Faith.* Popular faith or belief (πίστις) does not rise above the reception of the most necessary truths on the ground of

---

[1] Clem. *Hypotyp.* in Photius, Cod. 109; Origen, *De Princip.* III. 5, 3.

[2] It is not certain that Clem. *Strom.* IV. 640 bears this meaning; but see Origen, *De Princip.* II. 9, 6.

[3] Orig. *De Princip.* I. 6, 2 and 3.

[4] Clem. *Strom.* VI. 6, p. 851; Orig. *in Exodum*, Hom. VI. p. 148; *in Lucam*, Hom. XIV. p. 948; compare *c. Celsum*, V. p. 240 f.

[5] Clem. *Strom.* I. pp. 331, 337, ed. Potter; cf. Orig. *in Genesin*, Hom. XIV. c. 3.

Knowledge. Wisdom.

authority. A higher stage is that of knowledge (γνῶσις), in which the Christian has attained to a scientific demonstration of the truths revealed in Christ. But the highest of all is wisdom (σοφία), when the Christian has immediate intuition of divine truth[1]. It was for the more highly gifted to enquire into the reasons, the philosophy, of the truths which the apostles taught to the multitude[2]. But besides the simple and necessary doctrine which was given to all believers, the Lord, when He took the apostles aside privately, imparted to them treasures of secret wisdom, which through them had been handed down to the true Gnostics[3]. Both Clement and Origen express a certain dread of "putting a sword into a child's hand" by publishing to the many doctrines only suited for the few[4]. The Christian sage or Gnostic must aim at attaining not only a higher range of knowledge, but a complete freedom from the passions—even the passions which may have a good end—which move the greater part of mankind[5]. He must deserve the words, "I have said, ye are gods;" he must be like God, in a sense deified[6]. To this end he must free himself, so far as may be, from the bonds of the flesh[7]. And he must pursue his great end—that of seeing God and becoming like Him—with no reference to his own personal welfare; if his own salvation were offered him on the one hand and the knowledge of God on the other, he would unhesitatingly choose the knowledge of God[8]. With the view which the Alexandrians held on the pleasures of sense, it will readily be understood that they rejected with horror the sensuous conceptions of the thousand-years' reign of Christ on earth which had been held by many of the early teachers of the Church[9]; and that they did not regard the Resurrection as a reconstitution of the decaying relics of mortality, but as a rising of the spiritual body to eternal life[1].

---

[1] Clem. *Strom.* vii. p. 865; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. p. 284. Compare 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9.

[2] Origen, *De Princip.* i. Præf. c. 3.

[3] Clem. *Strom.* vi. p. 771; *Hypotyp.* in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. i. 2; Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. p. 279.

[4] Clem. *Strom.* i. p. 324; Orig. *c. Cels.* i. p. 7; iii. p. 159; viii. p. 411; *De Princip.* i. vi. 1.

[5] Clem. *Strom.* vi. pp. 775, 825.

[6] Clem. *Strom.* iv. p. 632; vi. p. 816; vii. 894.

[7] Clem. *Strom.* iv. pp. 569, 626; vii. p. 854; Origen in Photius, cod. 234.

[8] Clem. *Strom.* iv. pp. 576, 626.

[9] *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, in Clem. *Opp.* ii. p. 1004; Orig. *De Princip.* ii. 11, cc. 2, 6.

Allegory.

Many points of their system could hardly be defended by a literal interpretation of Scripture, and Origen and his school no doubt made free use of allegory. It would however be a mistake to imagine that Origen gave greater scope to arbitrary interpretation than he found existing; rather, he systematized it. He found in the Scriptures a threefold sense, historical, moral, and mystic, corresponding to the threefold division of body, soul, and spirit[2]. He is in fact the "father" of grammatical rather than of mystical exposition.

Dionysius. A.D. 232. 247—c. 265.

Doctrines such as those of Origen naturally called forth vehement opposition and as vehement defence. Among those who continued the tradition of Origen was his convert and pupil Dionysius[3], himself also head of the Catechetic School and afterwards for some years bishop of Alexandria, who shews in the remains of his writings both philosophical and critical power. Like his master, he was much opposed to the sensuous conceptions of the thousand-years' reign of Christ on earth[4]. He seems to have deserved by his wise and temperate spirit the epithet which Eusebius[5] bestows upon him of "the great Bishop."

Gregory. Thaumaturgus, † *c.* 270.

Hierax.

Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, on whom a later generation bestowed the name of Thaumaturgus[6] the Wonder-worker, was another very distinguished pupil of Origen, following him perhaps more in the ascetic than in the philosophic direction. It is highly probable also that Hierax or Hieracas[7] of Leontopolis derived his peculiar opinions from Origen rather than from the Manichæan source to which Epiphanius[8] refers them. He rejected the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh and all sensuous representations of the life to come, and very strongly discouraged marriage and the use of wine and flesh. But even the exaggerations of Hierax do not seem to have called forth any formal opposition at the time. The first who formally impugned the teaching of Origen appears to have been Methodius[1], bishop of Tyre, who, though himself of the Platonic school, attacked his doctrines on the continued evolution of worlds, on the resurrection, and on the absolute freedom of the human will. It was probably this attack which drew forth a Defence from the excellent Pamphilus[2], a presbyter of Cæsarea, perhaps the first wealthy churchman who employed his means in collecting a theological library. His Defence was still incomplete when its author met a martyr's death; it was completed by his devoted friend and intellectual son, Eusebius[3]—Pamphilus's Eusebius, as he came to be called. In the next generation the controversy about Origen and his opinions blazed out with greater fierceness.

---

[1] Clem. *Pædag.* II. p. 230; Orig. *De Princ.* II. 10, 3, and c. 11.

[2] Orig. *in Levit.* Hom. V. c. 5; and *De Princip.* IV. passim. See Mosheim, *De Rebus ante Constant.* pp. 629 ff.; J. A. Ernesti, *De Origene Interpretationis SS. grammaticæ auctore*, in his *Opuscula*, p. 218 ff.; C. R. Hagenbach, *Observationes circa Origenis methodum interpretandæ SS.*

[3] B. F. Westcott in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* I. 850.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 24, 25.

[5] *H. E.* VII. Proœm.

[6] H. R. Reynolds in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 730 ff.

[7] J. L. Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ.* p. 903 ff.

[8] *Hæresis* 67.

Methodius of Tyre, † 311 (?).

Pamphilus, † 309.

Eusebius Pamphili.

AFRICA.

4. While Alexandria was labouring to unite religion and philosophy, a very different school was dominant in the neighbouring province of Roman Africa. Greek seems to have been commonly understood in Carthage[4], but Latin was evidently the usual language of society, while the country folk retained their native Punic. The African was the first Latin Church; there first we find a Latin literature in the service of Christianity. It has the rhetorical character which we find in the Roman literature of a purer age, vivified and at the same time deformed by the gloomier genius of the Punic race. A translation of the Scriptures into this vigorous dialect supplied the wants of the faithful in the African cities, and was for some generations the Bible of Latin Christendom. The earnest mysticism which was to become Montanism flourished among the half-Oriental Africans. In this Church the most famous name is that of Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus[5], as characteristic a product of Roman Africa as Clement was of Alexandria.

---

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 64; Photius, *Cod.* 234—237. Compare Deutinger, *Geist. d. Christl. Ueberlieferung*, II. Abth. 2, p. 65 ff.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 32, 33; VII. 32; VIII. 13; *De Mart. Pal.* 7, 11. J. B. Lightfoot in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 309 ff.

[3] J. B. Lightfoot, u. s. p. 310.

[4] Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* 6; *De Bapt.* 15.

[5] Jerome *Catal.* c. 53; *Epist.* 83 *ad Magnum;* Vincent. Lerin. *Commonit.* c. 24.—*Vita* and *Prolegomena* in Migne *Patrol. Lat.* V. I, and in Oehler's *Tert. Opera*, V. III.; R. Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés*, etc. II. 374 ff.; A. Neander, *Antignosticus*,

Tertullian, born c. 160.

Tertullian was born, the child of heathen parents, about the year 160 at Carthage, at that time one of the most considerable schools of literature in the Roman empire. He understood and wrote Greek, he was a skilful rhetorician, and—as his works abundantly shew—well acquainted with Roman jurisprudence[1]. Converted while still young to Christianity by the sight of the constancy of the Christian martyrs, he became a presbyter of the Church and its most vigorous literary defender. If, as Jerome[2] tells us was the case, he reached a good old age, his days were probably prolonged into the fourth decade of the third century.

Presbyter, c. 190. Died, c. 235.

His character.

With much of the imperious character of the Roman and the subtlety of the lawyer, he has an impetuosity of temper and warmth of imagination which are perhaps due to Punic blood. Christianity probably has rarely won a more eager and uncompromising convert. In his controversial writings, which are many, he upholds the Catholic faith, according to his conception of it, against pagans, Jews, and heretics, in his practical works, Christian simplicity against the corruptions of a luxurious society; but in his polemics he is still the stern moralist, in his practical treatises he is still the controversialist. His excellencies and his faults alike arise from his vehemence and his incapacity for compromise. He saw, as he thought, the true doctrines of the Church in danger from the speculations of philosophy, and the "wisdom of this world" became the object of his keenest scorn and irony; the Academy has nothing in common with the Church[3]. It was natural therefore that he should contend earnestly against Gnosticism, a development of the cosmic theories of paganism. For himself, he prefers that which is above reason, and nothing is too marvellous for his eager faith to receive[4]. He is realistic to the verge of materialism; "incorporeal" is with him the same thing as "non-existent[5];" the soul of man, God Himself, must have

---

or Spirit of Tertullian, English Tr. with his *Planting and Training* (London, 1851); J. Kaye, *Eccl. Hist. illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian;* Möhler, *Patrol.* p. 701 ff.; F. D. Maurice, *Moral and Metaph. Phil.* I. 304 ff. (ed. 1873); Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* I. 32 ff.; Grotemeyer, *Ueber Tertullians Leben u. Schriften.*

[1] Eusebius (*H. E.* II. 2) calls him τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκὼς ἀνήρ.

[2] *Catalogus*, c. 53.

[3] *De Præscript.* c. 7.

[4] 'Certum est quia impossibile,' *De Carne Chr.* c. 5.

[5] *De Carne Chr.* c. 11.

some kind of body. And again, seeing the life of holiness in danger from social relaxation, the Spirit in danger of being quenched by ecclesiastical routine, he inveighed against all the pleasures of sense, however innocent, and at last joined the party of the Montanists, where he hoped to find more of the Spirit and greater rigour of life. In theory, he paid great respect to the authority of the leading Churches; but he was not the man to accept any authority, however exalted, which clashed with his conception of the truth. Christ, he says, called Himself Truth, not Custom[1].

Cyprian.

The great representative of the Church of Africa in the third century was Cyprian[2]. Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, the son of wealthy parents, after enjoying for a season the pleasures of pagan society at Carthage, where he was a rhetorician and teacher of rhetoric, sought refuge in the Church from the emptiness of the life which he was leading[3]. In the glow of religious feeling immediately after his baptism he distributed a large portion of his wealth to the poor[4], and all his life long he was distinguished for his munificence[5]. Within two years from his conversion he became a presbyter in Carthage, and shortly afterwards, though reluctant, recognized the voice of God in the voice of the people who hailed him bishop[6]. Pleading a divine command, he fled in the persecution of Decius[7], though from his retreat he still continued to administer the affairs of his Church, asking pardon that in the extraordinary emergency he was unable to consult the presbyters and people as he was ever wont[8]. Returning after a year's absence, he found his path full of obstacles. The small party which had opposed his election rose in rebellion against him[9], and the confessors in the late persecution claimed, by their mere word, to re-admit to communion those who had "fallen" by conformity to

Converted A.D. 246.

Bishop A.D. 248.

The 'Lapsed.'

---

[1] *De Virgg. Velandis*, c. 1.

[2] *Cypriani Vita*, attributed to Pontius his deacon, printed with Cyprian's *Works* (II. p. xc, ed. Hartel); F. W. Rettberg, *Th. C. Cyprianus dargestellt nach seinem Leben u. Wirken;* G. A. Poole, *The Life and Times of St Cyprian* (Oxf. 1840); E. J. Shepherd, *Letters on the Genuineness of the Letters ascribed to Cyprian* (Lond. 1853); R. W. Evans, *Biog. of Early Church*, II. 135 ff.; E. W. Benson in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* I. 739 ff.

[3] *Ad Donatum*, c. 3 f.

[4] *Vita*, cc. 6 and 15.

[5] *Epist.* 7; 14, c. 2.

[6] *Epist.* 43, c. 1; 59, c. 6.

[7] *Epist.* 16, c. 4.

[8] *Epist.* 14.

[9] *Epist.* 41.

Paganism in the troublous time[1]. Again, he was vexed by the conduct of the bishop of Rome on the question of the re-baptism of heretics[2]. He had to maintain the authority of the bishop, on the one hand against those of his own people who impugned it, on the other, against a foreign power which claimed to override it. In the midst of these disputes the great pestilence of the year 253 fell upon the empire and with special severity on the province of Africa; the good bishop was probably happier in succouring the distress of this terrible time than in disputes about discipline and doctrine. But his disputes and his beneficence alike came to an end in the persecution under Valerian, when he met his death with quiet courage. He was beheaded at Carthage in the year 258, the first African bishop, says Prudentius, who suffered martyrdom. Cyprian called Tertullian his master, and so he was; he borrowed from him both thoughts and expressions. But he has neither the genius, the passion, nor the imagination of his teacher; his ability was rather that of a ruler and administrator, and in this capacity he shewed great moderation in a time of feverish excitement. In his style we find neither the glowing fancy nor the energetic brevity of Tertullian; but it is clear and flowing, rising occasionally into eloquence and imagery[3]. On the whole, he gives us the impression of an able, cultivated Christian man, sincerely religious but incapable of fanaticism.

Martyrdom, Sep. 14, 258.

Commodian, fl. 250.

Among African writers may be reckoned Commodian[4], the earliest representative of Christian Latin verse. Born a pagan, he was converted, as he himself tells us, to Christianity by the reading of Holy Scripture. It was when Christianity had been already about two hundred years in the world, in an age of persecution[5], that he wrote his "Equipments against the gods of the Nations"—eighty acrostic poems in hexameters, in somewhat barbarous language. He also wrote an "Apologetic Poem against Jews and Gentiles." It is in Commodian's works that we have the first specimens of that which was destined to prevail in modern Europe—verse written solely according to accent, with no regard to the quantity of the syllables. His style is barbarous and prosaic, though not without a certain rough vigour, but his matter—especially his prophecy of the two Antichrists and the Lord's final victory—is sometimes of considerable interest.

---

[1] *Epist.* 15, c. 1; 16, c. 2; 17, c. 2; 64, c. 1; and De Lapsis.

[2] See Firmilian's letter, Cypr. *Epist.* 75; *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 256 (Hardouin's *Conc.* I. 159 ff.).

[3] Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* I. 55 ff.

[4] Ebert, *Christlich-Latein. Literatur,* I. 86 ff.; *Dict. Christ. Biog.* I. 610.

[5] Commod. *Instructiones,* VI. 2; LIII. 10.

Arnobius, wrote c. 305.

Some half-century later than Cyprian we meet with a distinguished African man of letters, Arnobius[1]. Of him we know no more than that he was a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca in Africa, and that after his conversion to Christianity he wrote seven books against paganism. He is very successful in shewing the absurdities of heathen worship and the folly of the attempts to rehabilitate it; but he evidently holds opinions not compatible with the purity of Christian doctrine. He seems to have been drawn into the Church partly by a strong reaction from heathenism, partly by the sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life which Christianity proffered him. He could not accept philosophy as a substitute for religion.

Lactantius, De Opificio Dei, c. 304. *Div. Instit.* c. 308.

From Arnobius we naturally pass to his pupil Lactantius Firmianus[2], though a considerable portion of his life was passed in Europe, and his style betrays no African provincialism. His book on 'the Handiwork of God' is probably the first Christian treatise on natural theology. His principal work, on 'First Principles of Things Divine,' though primarily apologetic, is really an introduction to Christian doctrine; he is not content, like some of his predecessors, with a merely negative position. The great contrast between the morality of Christianity and that of heathendom he treats with especial vigour and success; and if we can detect here and there some weakness in his grasp both of theology and of philosophy, his work must have rendered an important service in the critical time in which it was produced, just on the eve of the victory of Christianity. His style is clear and pleasant, certainly superior to that of the best of his pagan contemporaries. In his treatise 'on the Deaths of Persecutors' we have the first attempt to trace the judgments of God in history—especially in the history of his own time—from a Christian point of view.

---

[1] Jerome, *Catal.* c. 79; *Chron. Euseb.* ad ann. xx. Constantini. Le Nourry, *Apparatus Criticus*, in Migne's *Patrol.* v. 360 ff.; Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* I. 61 ff.; H. C. G. Moule in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* I. 167 ff.; Stöckl, *Phil. in Patrist. Zeit.* p. 240 ff.

[2] Jerome, *Catal.* c. 80; *Epist.* 70 *ad Magnum—Dissertationes* by Le Nourry etc. in Migne, *Patrol.* VI. and VII.; Stöckl, *Philosophie in Patrist. Zeit.* p. 249 ff.; Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* p. 70 ff.; and *über den Verfasser des Buches 'De Mort. Persec.'* in the 22nd vol. of *Verhandl.* der *K.-Sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*; E. S. Ffoulkes in *Dict. Chr. Biography*, III. 613 ff.; J. H. B. Mountain, *Summary of the Writings of Lactantius.*

De Mort. Persec. c. 313.

THE ROMAN CHURCH.

5. We now come to the one Apostolic see of the West, the great Church of Rome[1]. Here there was a large Jewish colony, and here, even more than in other cities, the Hebrew community drew around it proselytes and frequenters of its worship of all ranks, from a slave to an empress. Among Gentiles, proselytes and Jews many converts were found[2]. It soon became probably the most numerous of Christian Churches. Tacitus[3] describes the Christians of Rome as a "vast multitude" in the days of Nero, and in the third century Cornelius, its bishop, speaks of the Roman Church as containing a very large number of laymen, forty-six presbyters, and fifteen hundred widows and other distressed persons maintained by charity[4].

Its character.

The Judaic Christians for some generations did not fully harmonize with their Gentile brethren. But it was in Rome more than elsewhere that differences were assuaged and compromises made. For representatives of all nations and all forms of thought found their way to the central city of the world, and the Roman Church early manifested the capacity for ruling, organizing, and amalgamating, which had long distinguished the Roman state. And Rome was famed for beneficence; the days of St Laurence, when the poor of the great city formed the treasure of the Church[5] were not as the days when a Borgia or a Medici squandered vast wealth on luxury or art. The common language of this mixed multitude was Greek. Greek was the language of its principal writers, and Greek inscriptions appear on the tombs of its bishops as late as the year 275[6]. Victor (A.D. 189) is apparently

Language.

---

[1] T. Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri;* E. J. Shepherd, *Hist. of Ch. of Rome to the death of Damasus*; J. Langen, *Gesch. d. Römischen Kirche bis Leo I.*

[2] On the composition of the early Roman Church, see B. Jowett, *on Romans*, II. 3 ff.; J. B. Lightfoot in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, III. 1055; *on Philippians*, p. 13 ff.

[3] *Ann.* xv. 44.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43, §§ 11, 12.

[5] Prudentius, *Peristeph.* Hymn 2.

[6] De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* I. p. 126.

the first Latin bishop of Rome, and he is also the first who is known to have had relations with the imperial court[1], and to have claimed for his see something like universal dominion[2].

Founders.

The real origin of the Roman Church is utterly unknown, but in very early times St Peter and St Paul[3] came to be regarded as its founders. The belief that the former had preached in Rome may possibly have arisen from the Jewish-Christian fiction in which the two Simons, the apostle and the magus, play a prominent part; but it is much more probable that the legend was localized in Rome in consequence of St Peter's actual presence there. The succession of the early bishops is involved in great obscurity. Irenæus[4] gives the order Linus, Anencletus, Clemens, and in the same order the names appear in the Canon of the Roman liturgy, though "Cletus" is substituted for "Anencletus." A Clementine fiction[5] makes St Peter hand on his authority directly to Clement. The ancient Bucherian catalogue[6] (almost certainly derived in its earlier portion from Hippolytus) gives the order Linus, Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus; while the Apostolical Constitutions[7] put into the mouth of St Peter the statement that Linus was ordained by Paul, and Clement, after the death of Linus, by Peter himself. It has been suggested[8], as a way of reconciling these various statements, that there may have existed at the same time in Rome Jewish and Gentile communities, having separate bishops who derived their authority from St Peter and St Paul respectively. On the whole however it seems probable that the list given by Irenæus is the correct one[9].

Early Bishops.

Callistus, c. 218—223.

In the early part of the third century we have a curious glimpse at the life of the Roman Church through the writings of Hippolytus[10]. If he is to be credited, Callistus, a runaway slave, a fraudulent bankrupt, and an escaped convict, found it possible to worm himself into the confidence of the weak bishop Zephyrinus, and to become his successor. This is however the story of a vehement opponent and probably an anti-bishop[1].

---

[1] Hippolytus, *Hæres.* IX. 12, p. 287 f.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* V. 24.

[3] Dionysius of Corinth in Euseb. *H. E.* II. 25; Irenæus, *Hæres.* III. 1.

[4] *Hæres.* III. 3, § 3; cf. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 2, 13, 15.

[5] *Epist. ad Jacobum*, c. 3.

[6] In the Appendix to Du Cange's ed. of the *Chronicon Paschale.* See De Smedt, *Introd. Gener. ad Hist. Eccl.* p. 202 ff.; *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* s. v. *Chronicon Canisianum*, I. 506 f.

[7] VII. 46.

[8] By Cave, *Lives of the Fathers, Clemens*, c. 4, and *Hist. Lit.* s. v. *Clemens;* and by Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, I. 33 ff. (2nd Ed.).

[9] G. Salmon, in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* I. 554.

[10] *Hæres. Ref.* IX. 11 ff.

Bishops generally.

But whatever may be said of Callistus, it is certain that the character of the early Roman bishops generally cannot have been bad. They were not distinguished as writers or theologians, but many were martyrs; and men nurtured in Rome, hearing representations from all sides, were naturally more capable of comprehending the general bearings of a question than the worthy men who occupied analogous positions in provincial towns. At the same time, they were devoted to the interests of Rome.

Clement, wrote c. 95.

The first writer of the Roman Church of whom we have any remains is its bishop Clement[2], possibly identical with the Flavius Clemens who was put to death by Domitian[3]. His only extant work is a letter, simple in style and abounding in Old Testament quotations, written by him, as the official organ of communication with foreign churches[4], to the Church of Corinth. The main purpose of the letter is to restore the harmony which had been broken by dissensions and by a revolt against the authority of the presbyters; hence the duties of meekness, and of submission to those who are in authority over them and bear it blamelessly, are especially insisted on. The subject of the Resurrection, an old difficulty in the Corinthian Church, is also touched. There certainly seems to be a tone of authority in some of the expressions used[5], and the mere fact of such a letter being written—probably at the request of those who were aggrieved—seems to imply that Rome was recognized by some at least as a superior authority.

Hermas, wrote c.

Another production of the Roman Church is the curious work of Hermas[6], which bears the name of 'the Shepherd.'

---

[1] C. C. J. Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age;* Chr. Wordsworth, *St Hippolytus, etc.;* J. J. I. Döllinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus* (Eng. trans. Edinb. 1876).

[2] J. B. Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome* (1869) and Appendix (1877) containing the newly-recovered portions. Gebhardt and Harnack, *Clementis Rom. Epistulæ* (Lips. 1876) give the full text. See also G. Salmon, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 554 f.

[3] Suetonius, *Domitian*, c. 15; Dio Cassius LXVII. 14.

[4] Hermas, *Visio* II. 4.

[5] cc. 59, 63.

[6] J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, I. 185 ff.; Th. Zahn, *Der Hirt d. Hermas; Prolegomena* to Geb-

97 ? *or* c. 145?

He writes as a contemporary of Clement[1], but the writer of the Muratorian Fragment describes him as the brother of bishop Pius (142—157?)[2]. There is however nothing in the book incompatible with the earlier date. The book consists of a series of dream-visions, divine commands given to him, and parables or similitudes, related in an artless style which is not unattractive. The writer laments the corruption and the worldliness of the Church; he warns men of the wrath to come, when the dross will be purged away; he beseeches them to repent while repentance is still possible. He distinctly claims to be a prophet, and his position is in some respects not unlike that of a Montanist, though Tertullian[3] in his later days violently blamed his want of Montanistic rigour. There is nothing in the book which savours of Judaism, nor indeed any mention of the Jewish Law. It evidently made a great impression on the Church, for such men as Irenæus[4] and the Alexandrian Clement[5] quote it as scripture or revelation, and a fresco in a Neapolitan catacomb represents the tower-building which Hermas describes[6].

Caius the Presbyter, 201—219.

Caius[7], a presbyter of Rome, who is said to have written in the days of Zephyrinus, refuted the tenets of Montanism in a controversy with Proclus, the head of that sect in Rome, appealing against heretical novelties to the authority of a Church which was able to point to the "trophies" of St Peter and St Paul, and denying that the expectation of a thousand-years' reign of Christ on earth had the authority of an apostle. Nothing is known of his personal history, and it is very possible that the name Caius is simply that of a person in a dialogue written by Hippolytus[8].

This Hippolytus[9] is the most remarkable man of letters

---

hardt and Harnack's Ed. of the *Pastor;* G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 913 ff.

[1] *Visio* II. 4, 3.

[2] B. F. Westcott, *Canon of N. T.* pp. 217 ff., 562.

[3] *De Pudic.* c. 10.

[4] *Hæres.* IV. 20, 2.

[5] *Stromat.* I. c. 29, p. 426, Potter.

[6] Garrucci, *Storia d. Arte Christi.*, tav. 96, p. 113 f.; W. Cunningham, *Churches of Asia*, Frontispiece.

[7] Euseb. *H. E.* II. 25; III. 28; VI. 20—G. Salmon in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* I. 384.

[8] J. B. Lightfoot in *Journal of Philology*, I. 98 ff.

[9] Euseb. *H. E.* VI. cc. 20 and 22. See above, p. 81. G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* III. 385 ff. This Hippolytus is not to be confounded with his namesake, the supposed gaoler and convert of St Laurence, who was commemorated 'in agro Verano.' See E. W. Benson in *Journ. of Class. and Sacred Philology*, I. (1854) p. 188 ff.

CHAP. IV.

Hippolytus, fl. c. 200—235.

produced by the Church of Rome in the first three centuries. He was a pupil of Irenæus; besides his great work against heresies[1], numerous fragments remain, exegetical, apologetic, controversial, and dogmatic. He was also a chronologist and compiled a Chronicle, and his statue[2] found in the Via Tiburtina in 1551 has engraved upon it the Paschal Cycle which he drew up, as well as a list of his writings. It can scarcely be doubted that he was the bishop of some portion of the Christians in Rome[3], and it is clear that he regarded Callistus as the mere head of a school[4], and not as a Catholic bishop.

In the book against the Heresies the writer, starting from the assumption that heretics do not find their support in Holy Scripture, but in astrology, in pagan mysteries, and in Hellenic philosophy, proceeds first to examine these systems and then the heresies—Gnostic and Monarchian—which he believed to have grown out of them. His work is consequently of considerable importance for the history of philosophy, as well as for that of the thought and life of the Church in the early part of the third century, of which otherwise we have little contemporary evidence.

Minucius Felix.

These wrote in Greek. But it is possible that the first in the long array of Christian Latin writers may also belong to Rome. Minucius Felix, an advocate converted in middle life to Christianity, was probably a Roman, and evidently shared in the best culture of his time. Regarded simply as literature, his work is superior to those of his pagan contemporaries. As to his date however there are great diversities of opinion, some[5] maintaining that he lived before Tertullian, who made use of his work, others[6] that he lived in the quiet days of Alexander Severus, and made use of the work of Tertullian—a much more original mind—in the compilation of his dialogue 'Octavius[7].'

wrote c. 180? *or* c. 234?

---

[1] First published in 1851 at Oxford from a MS. from the Athos monastery, by E. Miller, under the title 'Origenis *Philosophumena*.' Since re-edited under its proper title by Duncker and Schneidewin.

[2] Now in the Lateran Museum. Winkelmann (*Werke*, XVII. 1, p. 334) believed this statue to be of the time of Alexander Severus; Platner (*Beschreibung Roms*, II, 2, p. 329) not later than the sixth century. It is engraved in Bunsen's *Hippolytus*.

[3] He is described as bishop of Rome by Apollinarius in the fourth century (Lagarde's *Hippolyti Opp.*, no. 72, p. 171), and generally by Greek authorities.

[4] *c. Hæres.* IX. 12.

[5] Ebert, *Christl.-Lat. Lit.* I. 25.

[6] Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 920 ff.

[7] See above p. 56.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT DIVISIONS.

We have already seen that there existed, as there could not but exist where there was active life, various schools of thought within the Church. Men apprehended variously the same great cardinal truths; but differences such as those of the Alexandrians and the Africans were perfectly compatible with the recognition of the common faith. Some teachers however either exaggerated a particular tenet so as to deform the proportion of the faith, or refused to receive some truth essential to Christianity. There were Jews, very zealous for the Law, who were for retaining the legal observances of the Mosaic code, and even for enforcing them upon converts from the Gentiles; there were Marcionites, who exalted the teaching of St Paul to the utter disparagement of everything belonging to the Jews; there were Montanists, who were for maintaining the freedom of prophetic gifts, and a higher and purer standard of life in the Church, even to the loss of ecclesiastical unity; there was Gnosticism, the general name given to a number of systems which claimed to supersede at once Polytheism, Judaism, and Christianity, and to provide adequate explanations of the mysteries of the universe; and there was Manichæism, which resolved the moral and spiritual phenomena of the world into the war of the opposing principles of Good and Evil. And in the midst of the storm occasioned by these winds of doctrine, the Church became more and more conscious that if she founded upon a Rock, that there was a basis of Catholic Truth which remained altogether unaffected by heresies and schools of thought.

Chap. V.

The Great Divisions.

Judaizers.

Marcionites.

Montanists.

Gnosticism.

Manichæism.

The Catholic Church.

CHAP. V.

JUDAIC CHRISTIANITY[1].

Fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

Nazarenes.

1. Where the Jew and the Gentile mingled freely in Christian worship, the truth that in Christ was neither Jew nor Greek must gradually have asserted itself; but in Jerusalem there was little or nothing of such influence; there all alike were Jewish converts, all reverencing Moses under the shadow of the Temple. But before Jerusalem fell and the Temple was razed to the ground, the Christians, heeding their Lord's words, fled from the doomed city, and reconstituted the Church of the Circumcision at Pella, a city of the Decapolis. And we find a little body of Nazarenes dwelling in Pella and its neighbourhood as late as the close of the fourth century[2]. These held themselves bound by the Mosaic law, but did not refuse communion with the Gentiles; according to some authorities[3], they had not risen to the full apprehension of the dignity of the Person of Christ; yet Jerome, who must have known them, seems to regard them as separated from Catholic Christendom chiefly by their retention of the Jewish law. These simple folk were, we may say, inheritors of the spirit of St James the Lord's brother. And the same spirit pervades the principal literary production of the Nazarene School, the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," which "to a strong Israelite feeling unites the fullest recognition of the Gentile Churches[4]." Our Lord is represented as the renovator of the law; the imagery and illustrations are all Hebrew; certain virtues are strongly commended and certain vices strongly denounced according to a Hebrew standard; many incidents in the lives of the patriarchs are derived from some unknown legendary Hebrew source. Yet the admission of the Gentiles into the privileges of the covenant is a constant theme of thanksgiving with the writer.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Ebionites.

But a much larger body than the Nazarenes, the Ebionites (אֶבְיוֹנִים)[5], not content with observing the Mosaic law themselves, maintained that it was binding on all Christians, and regarded as impure all who did not conform; they regarded Jesus as the Messiah, while they denied His Divinity; they rejected the authority of St Paul, and may in truth be regarded as the successors of the false brethren who dogged his steps and opposed his doctrine. These, whom we may call for distinction Pharisaic, are the Ebionites of Irenæus and Hippolytus.

---

[1] A. Ritschl, *Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*, p. 104 ff. (2nd Ed.); J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul and the Three*, in *Galatians*, p. 292 ff.; J. J. I. Döllinger, *The First Age of Christianity and the Church*, tr. by H. N. Oxenham; A. Schwegler, *Nachapostol. Zeitalter;* G. V. Lechler, *d. Apostol. u. Nachapostol. Zeitalter.*

[2] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 29. 7; Jerome, *Catalogus*, c. 3.

[3] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 30. 9.

[4] Lightfoot, *St Paul and the Three*, p. 300.

[5] i.e. "poor." Tertullian's mention (*De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 33) of one Ebion or Hebion as their founder was probably occasioned by his ignorance of Hebrew. Origen

Pharisaic.

The other and more widely-spread type of Ebionism, agreeing in general with the opinions of the Pharisaic Ebionites, added to them new elements of mysticism and asceticism derived probably from contact with the Essenes[1]. This is the Ebionism of Epiphanius. These Ebionites, like the rest, were zealous for the law, but the law must be adapted to their peculiar tenets; bloody sacrifices they looked upon with horror, and the prophets they utterly rejected. They laid great stress on certain peculiar observances, especially lustral washings and abstinence from flesh and wine; they maintained "that the Word or Wisdom of God had been incarnate more than once, and that thus there had been more Christs than one, of whom Adam was the first and Jesus the last. Christianity in fact was regarded by them merely as the restoration of the primæval religion; in other words, of pure Mosaism before it had been corrupted by foreign accretions[2]." These Essenic Ebionites bear a strong resemblance to the Judaic sectaries who disturbed the peace of the Church at Colossæ in the days of St Paul. They were eager to spread their faith and displayed great literary activity; they may be traced in many different parts of the Empire, and produced a great number of books which have not been without influence on Christian tradition, though the works themselves have for the most part perished. There are still extant the "Clementines[3]"—the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* attributed to Clement of Rome—and a few fragments of the book of Elchasai. Of these the Homilies were written probably in the latter half of the

Essenic.

Ebionite Literature.

Clementines.

(*in Matt.* t. xvi. c. 12) gave the correct meaning. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 13 ff.; Gieseler, *K. Geschichte*, i. 113, note e.

[1] See Baur's Tract, *De Ebionitarum origine et doctrina ab Essenis repetenda*, Tübingen, 1831.

[2] Lightfoot, *St Paul and the Three*, 305.

[3] Lightfoot, u.s. p. 306 ff.; G. Salmon, *Clementine Literature*, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 567 ff.

second century, the Recognitions, known only in the free Latin version of Ruffinus, somewhat later. In the Homilies, Simon Magus, the antithesis of Simon Peter, is the impersonation of heresy; various traits are accumulated in his person, and some of these are manifestly derived from St Paul; in the Recognitions the animus of the writer against the apostle of the Gentiles is much less strongly marked. The book of Elchasai, the "hidden power," professes to be written in the third year of Trajan, an epoch corresponding remarkably with that mentioned by Hegesippus as the time of the great outbreak of heresies. Whatever its date, it maintains, like the rest of the Ebionite writings, the perpetual obligation of the Jewish law and the purely human nature of Christ[1]. Both this book and the Clementines have a strongly Gnostic tinge.

The Clementine Gnosticism.

The system of the Clementine writings makes Christianity itself little else than a purification and renewal of primæval Judaism; Judaism and its latest development, Christianity, stand together in opposition to Heathenism. The main intention of the works in question seems in truth to have been, to unite the Judaic and anti-Judaic parties in the Church against pagan tenets, whether in the Church or in the world which surrounded it. We have here no separation of a Demiurgus from the Most High God; the one God is all in all. God created the universe through the Wisdom, the "operative hand[2]," which is with Him. Christ and Satan are respectively the right hand and the left hand of God; with the one He brings to death, with the other gives life[3]; to Christ is made subject the world to come; to the devil—who was not created evil, but became bad by a mixture of extraneous elements—is made subject this present world. Man, as made at first in the image of God, rejoiced in the revelation of God made through the prophets of truth. This line of true prophets began in Adam, and, when at the instigation of the devil the woman had brought confusion into the primæval revelation, was renewed in Moses. When the Mosaic law began to lose its force and purity, it was renewed in Christ, who is the Son of God in a sense in which that title could not be given to Adam or to Moses, if not one with God in the

---

[1] Hippolytus, *Hæres.* ix. 13, 14.

[2] Χεὶρ δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν, *Homil.* xvi. 12.

[3] *Homil.* vii. 3.

Christian sense[1]. In this system the way of salvation begins with the calling from God, through which man comes to know the true prophet; in him he must have faith and in his name receive baptism; thence he advances to Gnosis, the knowledge of the true nature of God and His perfect righteousness, of the immortality of the soul of man, of the judgment to come; this Gnosis gives men power to fulfil the law, which is conceived as a series of positive ordinances. A rigorous asceticism is required, involving the utmost possible abstinence from the things of earth, especially from flesh and from wine; but the Judaic spirit of the system appears strongly in its commendation of marriage.

Marcion,

2. If the system represented by the Clementines tended to exalt Judaism, even at the expense of Christianity, that of Marcion[2] exalted the teaching of St Paul at the expense not only of Judaism but of other Christian teachers. St Paul alone he recognises as "the Apostle," the one depositary of the truth as it is in Jesus. His object throughout is, to make the sharpest and most absolute separation between Divine—i.e. Pauline—Christianity, and the not merely inferior but hostile systems which preceded it. "The Law" is with him mere hardness and sternness, "the Gospel" an absolutely new revelation of God, for which nothing in the previous history of the world had prepared the way; it is a sunrise without a dawn. In Marcion's system all things are sudden, which in God's providence require a long development. John comes suddenly, Christ comes suddenly[3]. He is always bringing into prominence the antithesis of Law and Gospel, righteousness and mercy, fear and love.

As to his personal history, we learn that Marcion was the son of a bishop of Sinope, by whom it is said[4] that he

---

[1] *Homil.* xvi. 16.

[2] The sources are, Irenæus, *Hæres.* i. 27; Tertullian, *adv. Marcionem;* Hippolytus, *Hæres. Ref.*, vii. 29—31; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 42; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabb.*, i. 24. The work of Esnig (an Armenian bishop of the fifth century) against Marcion is noticed by Neumann in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1834, Bd. 4. Of modern writers may be mentioned, A. Hahn, *De Gnosi Marcionis;* A. Harnack, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Marcion* in *Zeitschr. f. Wissenschaftl. Theol.* 1876; R. A. Lipsius, *Das Zeitalter Marcion's* in *Quellen d. ältest. Ketzergesch.* p. 225; G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 816 ff.

[3] Tertullian, *c. Marcionem,* iv. 11.

[4] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 42. 2.

at Rome, c. 150.

Cerdon.

was excommunicated for some juvenile excesses. He found his way about the middle of the second century to Rome[1], where he was also rejected by the Church, and where, with the help of a Syrian Gnostic named Cerdon, he seems to have thought out his system. He assumed three primal powers[2]; the Supreme Deity, or "Good God," the righteous Demiurgus or creator, and Matter with its ruler, the evil one. The Demiurgus, putting forth the best of his limited powers, created a world of the same nature as himself, in which he chose the Jews to be his own people, and gave them merely the covenant of salvation by works. Thus provided, they struggled but feebly against the power of evil, until at last the Good God, of his great love towards mankind, sent his son, Christ, clothed in a body of no earthly mould, yet capable of doing and suffering, to reveal his hitherto unknown being and nature. He was at first taken for the Messiah of the Jews' Deity, but when he preached the Gospel of the Good God, Demiurgus in wrath caused him to be crucified. He died however only a seeming death. They who believe in Christ and lead a holy life out of love to God shall attain to bliss in the heavenly kingdom; the rest belong to the realm of Demiurgus, and after his just condemnation are destined to receive, according to their works, either an inferior happiness or utter reprobation. In one respect only does Marcion give hope for the heathen world; the Christ, after His seeming death, descended into Hell (ad inferos), and saved those of the old world, whether heathens or Jews, who believed on Him.

Marcion's Canon.

Marcion's teaching professed to be founded on the very words of Holy Scripture; but the Canon of Scripture which he acknowledged consisted only of ten epistles of St Paul—the Pastorals being rejected—and a gospel bearing the name of St Luke, St Paul's disciple. In the epistles, it does not seem probable that he altered the words of the venerated master whose doctrine he claimed to have restored; but the gospel which he used certainly differed from the canonical gospel according to St Luke, though it may be doubted whether Marcion himself introduced all the variations which were found in it[1].

---

[1] Justin M. *Apol.* I. 26; Tertullian, *adv. Marcion.* I. 19.

[2] The older authorities (Justin, Rhodon in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 13, Irenæus, and Tertullian) speak only of two ἀρχαὶ; but their words imply the existence of an evil power, such as is expressly asserted by Epiphanius, Theodoret and Esnig.

Died, c. 170.

He passed his days in eager contention against what he thought the prevalent Judaism of the Church, and in organizing the societies of those whom he called his "comrades in hate and persecution." And the discipline of these societies, however different from that of the Church, was by no means lax; if his teaching was antinomian in its opposition to the Jewish law, he still inculcated an asceticism springing from the genuine devotion of the inner man to God. Those who did not rise to this asceticism, and those who were married[2], he retained in the ranks of the catechumens, but to these he gave the privilege of being present at all the rites of the Church; the gospel was for all, not merely for an inner circle of disciples. Like the Catholics, he baptized with water, he anointed with oil, he gave milk and honey to the neophytes, and bread to the communicants in the Eucharist[3]; but wine was absent; his disciples used neither wine nor flesh. A second and even a third baptism was permitted, and it is not improbable that for those who departed unbaptized a vicarious baptism was performed. Women were permitted to administer the baptismal rite[4].

Apelles, died c. 190.

His pupil Apelles[5] taught that there was but one primal Power, the Good God; he it was who created the intermediate Being who made the world, the imperfections of which arise from lack of power in him who made it. Then intervened the Being who spake in a flame of fire to Moses, from whose inspiration sprang the Old Testament. At the prayer of the world-creator the Good God sent his Christ into the world. He appeared, lived, wrought and suffered in a real body, not of sinful flesh, but compounded direct from the pure elements without spot of sin, and resolved at death into the elements again. In his later days Apelles seems to have given heed to the utterances of a possessed maiden, Philumena, and to have more and more renounced Gnosticism and approached to the Catholic faith. In his disputation with Rhodon[1] he declared that all would be saved who placed their hope on the Crucified, provided that they were found in good works.

---

[1] B. F. Westcott, *Canon of the New Test.* p. 345 ff.; W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 204 ff. See also A. Hahn, *De Canone Marcionis* and *Das Evang. Marcion's;* A. Ritschl, *Das Evang. Marcion's und d. kanon. Evang. d. Lukas.*

[2] Tert. *adv. Marc.* I. 29.

[3] *Ib.* I. 14.

[4] Tertull. *de Præscript.* c. 41; Jerome *on Gal.* VI. 6; Epiphan. *Hær.* 42, 4; Chrysostom *on* 1 *Cor.* XV. 29 (*opp.* X. 378).

[5] A. Harnack, *De Apellis Gnosi Monarchica;* Hilgenfeld, *Der Gnostiker Apelles* in *Zeitschr. f. Wissenschaft. Theol.* 1875, pt. 1; F. J. A Hort, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 127 f.

Marcionites.

The Marcionites maintained themselves as a distinct society as late as the sixth century, split however by many schisms, and perverted by the speculations of adherents from various Gnostic sects. An inscription which once stood over the doorway of a Marcionite meeting-house, of the year 630 of the era of the Seleucidae (A. D. 318—319), was found a few years ago in a Syrian village[2].

MONTANISM[3].

3. There has always existed in the Church, more or less openly, an opposition between established routine and the freer manifestation of religious emotion. In the Church of the second century the more ardent spirits began to feel that the love of many had waxed cold; the expectation of the Coming of Christ was less vivid, the standard of Christian life was lower, plain living and high thinking had declined, faith in the perpetual activity of the prophetic and other gifts of the Spirit was no longer, as it had once been, the great animating principle of the Church. A Church in which the sternest morality was not insisted upon seemed to them no true branch of the Church of Christ. The true Church is where the Spirit is, not necessarily wherever the ecclesiastical organization is complete. With such as these the divine inbreathing, the personal ecstasy, of the prophet lifted him high above those whose authority depended upon mere ecclesiastical appointment. Such as these felt it a matter of life and death to maintain primitive Christianity—as they conceived it—against the increasing worldliness of the Church on the one hand, and its Gnostic departures from the simplicity of Christian doctrine on the other.

Spiritual Church.

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 13.

[2] Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, III. 583, no. 2558, quoted by G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 819. "This is more ancient than any dated inscription belonging to a Catholic Church."

[3] The authorities are, Tertullian in many treatises; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 3, 14—19; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 48. —G. Wernsdorf, *De Montanistis;* F. Münter, *Effata et Oracula Montanistarum;* C. Kirchner, *De Montanistis;* Schwegler, *Der Montanismus und die Christliche Kirche;* A. Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, p. 462 ff.; E. Stroehlin, *Essai sur le Montanisme;* J. De Soyres, *Montanism and the Primitive Church*, containing a careful account of the literature of the subject; G. Salmon, in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* III. 935 ff.

Montanus, c. 130.

Their feelings generally, and especially the desire to maintain the gifts of prophecy within the Church, found expression in the voice of Montanus, a Mysian, who about the year 130 began to claim to have received prophetic powers and a new revelation; his enemies said that he even claimed to be the Paraclete. All that can be said of him with certainty is, that he attracted to himself a large number of disciples, including several women of high social position, among whom the most conspicuous were Maximilla and Priscilla, or—as she is sometimes called—Prisca. These two constantly appear as his companions and as sharing in his spiritual gifts. Of the other women whose utterances were received as divine revelation, the only names that have come down to us are those of the martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas[1]. The Montanists maintained, as earlier teachers had done[2], the perpetuity and necessity of the gifts of prophecy and vision. They received the whole of the Christian Scriptures; there was no heresy in their views with regard to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit[3]. They held very earnest and very precise opinions as to the speedy coming of the Lord, and are said to have expected the descent of the New Jerusalem at a village in Phrygia, Pepuza[4], whence they are not unfrequently called Pepuziani. Strangely enough, while insisting on the ever-present guidance of the Holy Spirit, they laid down precepts on permitted food and permitted acts which approached Judaic legalism. Their fasts were more numerous and more severe than those observed by the Church in general[5]. Marriage was permitted[6], though the married were clearly placed on a lower level than the unmarried, and probably remained in the ranks of the catechumens. Second marriages were utterly condemned[7], as indeed they had often been condemned beforetime in the Church[8]. With regard to sin after baptism, the Spirit

Second Advent.

Fasts.

Marriage.

Absolution.

---

[1] De Soyres, p. 138 ff.

[2] "Clement, Ignatius, Hermas, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus unanimously affirm their belief in, or even their experience of, these *charismata.*" *Ib.* p. 65.

[3] The testimony of Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 48, § 1), a hostile witness, may be accepted as conclusive on this point.

[4] Epiphan. *Hæres.* 49, § 1; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18.

[5] Tertullian, *De Jejuniis*, cc. 1, 14, 15; Hippolytus, *Hæres. Ref.* VIII. 19; Jerome, on St Matt. ix. 15.

[6] Tertullian, *De Monogamia*, c. l. 'unum matrimonium novimus.'

[7] *Ib.* c. 4.

[8] E. g. by Athenagoras, *Legatio*,

Martyrdom.

The Church.

Rites and Customs.

Calumnies.

declared through the new prophets, 'the Church has power to remit sin, but I will not do it lest others offend[1].' Martyrdom was by no means to be avoided by flight, but it was meritorious only if endured in faith and out of pure submission to God's will[2]. The one visible Church of Christ included all who had been duly baptized[3]; yet many of its members were merely psychic or "natural" men; the spiritual or pneumatic were those alone who accepted the higher teaching of the Spirit by the mouth of His prophets, and each one of these was endued with a spiritual priesthood[4]. Some peculiar rites were attributed to them. That women prophesied in the churches is admitted on all hands, but there is no reason to believe that this prophesying took place during divine service, or that women took any share in celebrating the mysteries[5]. The unmarried women were closely veiled in the churches. It is not wholly improbable that the Montanists performed vicarious baptism on behalf of those who had died unbaptized[6]; such deaths were likely to be frequent in a society which detained the majority of its members in a long catechumenate. It is said that they used cheese in the Eucharist[7]; but this may probably have been as an offering, rather than as a part of the actual Eucharistic celebration. That some disorder took place in their assemblies is probable enough; there have perhaps never been assemblies of ecstatics and visionaries which have not fallen into occasional improprieties; but it is impossible to accept as true the charges of child-murder and of horrible food given in their secret rites—charges precisely similar to those of the heathen against the whole

---

c. 33; Theophilus, *ad Autol.* III. 15.

[1] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, c. 21.

[2] Tertullian, *De Fuga in Persecutione, passim; Adv. Praxeam*, c. 1 (quoting 1 Cor. xiii. 3).

[3] Tertull. *De Virgg. Velandis*, c. 2.

[4] Tertull. *De Jejuniis*, c. 11; *De Pudic.* c. 21; *De Exhort. Castit.* c. 7.

[5] The prophetess gave her utterances 'dimissa plebe' (Tert. *De Anima*, c. 9). The ecstatica mentioned by Firmilian (Cypriani, *Epist.* 75, c. 10), who was perhaps a Montanist, performed some kind of eucharistic rite, but "sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis." The "non" inserted before "sine" by some editors has no authority.

[6] The direct statement of Philaster (*De Hæres.* 49) is "Hi mortuos baptizant."

[7] Tertullian never mentions the practice, whence we may infer that this charge was not brought against the Montanists in his time. It is however supported by the later testimony of Augustine (*Hæres.* 26), Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 49, 2), and Philaster (*Hæres.* 74).

body of Christians—which were circulated in a later age[1]. It is impossible to believe that Tertullian and Perpetua belonged to a society capable of horrible crime in its secret assemblies.

Councils.

A.D. 157.

Teaching such as that of the Montanists naturally spread rapidly among the excitable people of Phrygia. The Church in that region was alarmed; councils of the faithful were held in which their tenets were condemned and themselves excommunicated[2]. Tidings of the proceedings in Asia soon reached the Asiatic colony in southern Gaul, and the confessors yet in bonds, under stress of persecution, wrote letters in the interests of peace both to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and to Eleutherus bishop of Rome[3]. One bishop of Rome—either Eleutherus or Victor—acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and gave peace to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia; but Praxeas by misrepresenting the prophets induced him to recall the letters of peace which he had issued and to withdraw his recognition[4]. Montanism had probably at one time many adherents in Italy, but it was in Africa that it won its most important conquest, Tertullian, who gave to its cause all the warmth of his African nature and the skill of a practised advocate. No other of the sects of the ancient Church has the advantage of presenting itself to later times as pictured by its greatest convert.

Council at Iconium, c. 235.

Laodicea, c. 372.

Constantinople, 381.

A provincial council at Iconium[5] in the first half of the third century declared Montanist baptism invalid, thus branding Montanism as a sect separate from the Church. Shortly afterwards Stephen, bishop of Rome, recognized it as valid[6]. Nicæa passed the question over in silence. The synod of Laodicea[7] in the latter part of the third century enacted that the "Phrygians" should be catechized and baptized ere they were admitted to the Church; and the œcumenical council of Constantinople[8]—even more strongly

---

[1] First by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* XVI. 4) in the middle of the fourth century.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16, § 10. Other councils against Montanism are mentioned in the *Libellus Synodicus*, a late authority (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I. 70).

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 3.

[4] *Adv. Praxeam*, c. 1.

[5] Firmilian, in Cypriani *Epist.* 75, c. 19.

[6] Cyprian, *Epist.* 74, c. 1; Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 3.

[7] Can. 8 (Hardouin's *Conc.* I. 781).

[8] Can. 7 (Hard. I. 813).

—that the "Montanists, here called Phrygians," should be received into the Church in precisely the same manner in which pagans were received. Montanism was found worthy of notice even as late as the legislation of Justinian in the sixth century, and probably its later manifestations, when it was a mere despised sect, cast discredit on its earlier and purer time. But it was already practically extinct in the latter part of the fourth century, when—as Epiphanius tells us[1]—it could point to no prophet. Its real work was done in the protest which it made against spiritual deadness in the Church in the second and third centuries.

GNOSTICISM.

4. The desire to explain the mystery of the universe, with its strange contrasts of good and evil, of order and anarchy, is probably ineradicable from the heart of man; and with this has often been joined the pride of possessing a higher wisdom which the crowd of inferior beings can only approach in gross material symbols. Probably the most striking exhibition of these tendencies with which we are acquainted is to be found in the various systems, existing in every part of the Roman empire in the early days of Christianity, which have received the general name of Gnostic[2].

Its origin.

The origin of these systems has been much disputed. The contemporary opponents of Gnosticism thought it little else than the Greek philosophy of religion putting on a mystic disguise[3]. Modern enquirers have traced it to the Zoroastrian system of the Zendavesta, to the Hebrew Kabbala, to the Talmud, to the teaching of the Buddhists. The very variety of these theories shows that no one of them accounts for all the phenomena; the influence of all may be found in one or other of the Gnostic systems; the antithesis of Light and Darkness reminds us of Persia, the series of emanations from the divine Essence recalls the Buddhists, while the allegory not seldom resembles that of the Hebrew Kabbala. In cities like Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus these theories ran together and met with nascent Christianity.

---

[1] *Hæres.* 48, 2.

[2] For Gnosticism, the principal sources are Irenæus *adv. Hæreses;* Tertullian, *adv. Marcion.*, *De Præscriptionibus*, *adv. Valentinianos*, *c. Gnosticos;* Hippolytus, *Hæresium Refut.;* Plotinus, *Ennead.* II. 9; Epiphanius, *Panarion adv. Hæreses.* Of modern authorities may be mentioned A. Neander, *Genetische Entwickelung der Gnost. Systeme;* F. C. Baur, *Die Christliche Gnosis;* J. Matter, *Hist. Critique du Gnosticisme;* R. A. Lipsius, *Gnosticismus* in Ersch u. Gruber's *Cyclop.;* C. W. King, *the Gnostics and their Remains;* H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies.*

[3] See particularly Tertullian, *De Præscript. Hær.* c. 7; *adv. Hermog.* c. 8; *de Anima*, c. 23. The Gnostics themselves, by the help of allegorical interpretations, found their system in such writers as Homer and Aratus. Hippolytus, *c. Hæres.* v. 8; IV. 46.

Gnosis.

Gnosis (γνῶσις) is knowledge; in a special sense, an inner and deeper knowledge of the mystery of existence, not accessible to the vulgar and a source of pride to the initiated. But the Gnosticism with which we are concerned, the Gnosticism which came in contact with Christianity, has certain special characteristics.

Evil principle.

In the first place, some evil principle, generally identified with matter, is held to oppose the pure creative energy of the Divinity. In nothing is the pagan origin of the system more distinctly visible than in this; for ancient speculation rarely rises to the conception of one sole creative Will. All Gnostic systems derive the universe from the contact of Spirit with Matter; but Spirit must lower itself by a gradual descent to Matter; the great gulf between the two is bridged over by a long series of emanations from the highest or absolute Being. These emanations, under the name of Æons (αἰῶνες), occupy a very important place in most Gnostic systems.

Emanations, Æons.

Psychic principle.

The same effort to provide a medium between spirit and matter is found in the Gnostic conception of a "psychic" or animal principle between the purely spiritual or "pneumatic," and the mere material or "hylic" portion of the universe. The actual creation of the visible and palpable world is often attributed to Demiurgus, the working or forming deity whose special realm is "psychic," separated from the Most High God by a long series of æons, and acting on matter as His subordinate. In several of the systems this Demiurgus or handicraft-deity is identified with the God of the Jews; yet the conception itself seems to be derived from Plato[1] whose creator of heaven and earth is a demiurgus, superior indeed to the gods of the old mythology, but subject to the eternal forms which rule the universe.

Demiurgus.

Gnosticism and

So far, Gnosticism seems to have no very obvious contact with Christianity; it has however in fact a very intimate connexion both with Christianity and with Ju-

---

[1] *Republic*, VII. p. 730; *Timæus*, p. 28.

Scripture.

daism. In the first place, many of the Gnostic theosophists professed to draw much of their system from the Scriptures. Just as Philo and his school found a whole system of Platonic philosophy in the plain facts of scripture history, so, by the help of allegoric or esoteric explanations, these Gnostics found in the sacred books a whole series of divine beings or emanations. The number thirty, the years of our Lord's life when He began His ministry, became the number of the Valentinian æons; the lost sheep of the parable became Achamoth, the lower or earthly wisdom wandering from its true home. Nor did the Gnostics appeal only to Scripture; they set up a tradition of their own against that of the Church. The disciples of Carpocrates, for instance, asserted that Jesus had imparted their doctrine in secret to His Apostles, bidding them in turn impart it to faithful and worthy men[1]; the Ophites declared that the Lord in the interval between His Resurrection and Ascension had taught their peculiar wisdom to those few disciples whom He found worthy of so great a trust[2]; or that James the Lord's brother had disclosed it to Mariamne[3]; Basilides professed to derive his system from Glaucias, an interpreter of St Peter, Valentinus his from one Theudas, a companion of St Paul[4]; both appealed to the traditions of Matthias[5]; and Ptolemy the Valentinian claimed an "apostolic tradition" which had come down to him through a succession of persons[6].

Gnostic Tradition.

Redemption.

All Gnostic teachers taught their disciples to look for some kind of Redemption. This was generally regarded as the liberation of the pneumatic element from the bonds of matter, the escape of the spiritual man from the realm of the lower world-forming deity. This Redemption was said to be effected by one of the Æons, of which the man Christ Jesus was merely the instrument, we may almost say the mask or disguise. All the Gnostics differed widely from the Catholic teaching on the Person of Christ. Many taught that He had but a seeming body and suffered only in appearance (κατὰ δόκησιν), whence they received the name of Docetæ (Δοκηταί).

---

[1] Irenæus, *Hæres.* I. 25. 5.

[2] Irenæus, I. 30. 14.

[3] Hippolytus, *c. Hæres.* V. 7.

[4] Clemens Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17. 106.

[5] *Strom.* VII. 13. 82; 17. 108.

[6] *Ad Floram*, in Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 33, p. 222.

Judaism.

Again, all the Gnostic leaders in some shape or other took up a definite position, friendly or hostile, to Judaism. In the older and more numerous systems, both Judaism and heathendom are represented as preparing the way for the advent of the complete and perfect religion, their own; there is no essential opposition between them. In spite of innumerable differences of detail, they agree in this, that the old religions of the world were a preparation for the complete and perfect religion. The disciples of Marcion indeed, as we have seen, supposed Christianity to be in absolute contrariety both to Judaism and heathenism; while the Gnosticism of the Judaizers tended to the exaltation of Judaism; but neither of these systems can be considered as purely and simply Gnostic.

Morality.

The moral system of the Gnostics was the natural outcome of their religion. As they regarded matter as the seat of evil, morality consisted to a large extent of the struggle to free the spiritual principle from the influence of matter, that so it might acquire Gnosis. Hence the really serious and religious Gnostics tended to asceticism. Some allowed marriage, some even enjoined it on the "spiritual"; some—as Saturninus and Tatian—seem to have forbidden it either altogether, or at least for those who would be perfect. The coarser natures among them, on the other hand, drew very different conclusions from the same premiss, and scorned the ordinary restraints of social decency. Mere outward acts were, they contended, indifferent, as matter was distinct from spirit; self-restraint was of little value in those who had never tasted the delights of dissoluteness; the real victory was for the spirit to stand unconquered amid the passions of the lower nature. Carpocrates and Prodicus, as also the later Marcosians, are said to have taken this direction. Gnostics of this kind, as was natural, readily conformed to pagan worship, and despised those who endured martyrdom for conscience' sake.

Gnostic Teachers.

The rise of Gnosticism is coæval with that of Christianity. We can scarcely doubt that when Simon Magus in Samaria was accepted by the people as "that power of God which is called Great[1]," he had given himself out to be some kind of Gnostic emanation from the divinity. He was regarded indeed in later times as the head and source of heresy[1]. We find distinct traces of Gnosis, probably in an Essenic form, at Colossæ[2] in the days of St Paul, and again we meet with an angelology, which is apparently Gnostic, in the letters to Timothy. It was against Docetism that St John wrote of Him Whom his eyes had seen and his hands handled. The Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse and the false teachers of the Epistle of Jude may probably have based their licentious views on Gnostic speculations. Towards the end of the Apostolic Age Cerinthus[3] propagated views akin to Gnosticism in the district of Asia Minor which was under the influence of St John, saying that the Christ descended on Jesus, who was mere man, at his baptism, and that while Jesus suffered, the Christ ascended again into heaven.

---

[1] Acts viii. 10.

In the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles, the simple, practical nature of the Church's work, pressed upon it as it was by surrounding heathenism, was not favourable to the spread of Gnosticism; it gained more influence as the desire grew stronger for theoretic completeness in the teaching of theology.

Basilides, fl. 120-130.

Basilides[4], one of the most famous Gnostic teachers, a younger contemporary of Cerinthus, was said to be a Syrian by birth, but passed the greater part of his active life in Alexandria, and there his son also, Isidorus, became a famous teacher. About the same time flourished Carpocrates[5], an Egyptian, and his son Epiphanes, as also the Syrian Saturninus[6] or Saturnilus. Even in these early days of Gnosticism, its systems present the greatest diversities.

Saturnilus.

Valentinus, in Rome, c. 140.

In Valentinus[7], an Alexandrian settled in Rome, the speculative and imaginative development of Gnosticism reached its highest point. He produced in fact a highly poetic account of the creation and constitution of the universe, from the point of view of a thoughtful and cultivated heathen. His school, which split into an Eastern and a Western (or Italian) branch, produced many distinguished teachers; Heracleon, against whom Origen wrote his comment on St John; Ptolomæus[1], Marcus[2], Bardaisan or Bardesanes[3] an Armenian who lived long in Edessa, and who is said to have been the first of Syrian hymn-writers. Contemporary with Valentinus was Cerdo, who initiated Marcion[4] in Gnostic tenets. To this period also belongs the restless Tatian[5], who, after passing through the most various forms of religion, at last settled in Gnosticism. His disciples received the names of Encratites, from the excessive rigour of their lives; of Hydroparastatæ or Aquarii, from their abstinence from wine even in the Holy Communion; and sometimes that of Severiani, from one Severus, who was a pupil of Tatian. This sect still existed in the fourth century. The Ophites[6], or Naasseni[7], who regarded the serpent as the beginner of true knowledge and the great benefactor of mankind, probably existed before Christianity, though their Gnostic development may have been as late as the second century. With these we may reckon the Sethiani, the Cainites, the Peratici, and the Gnostic Justin[8] with his followers. To the second century also we may refer a Gnostic of Arabian origin, mentioned only by Hippolytus, Monoimus[9] or Menahem.

---

[1] Irenæus, I. 23. 2; III. *Præf.*

[2] J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 73 ff.

[3] Irenæus, I. 26.

[4] Clemens Alex. *Stromateis* I. 21, p. 408 (ed. Potter); II. 3. 6, p. 443; 8, p. 448; 20, p. 488; IV. 12, p. 599; V. 1, p. 645; Irenæus, I. 24. 3; Hippolytus, *Hæres. Ref.* VII. 20 ff.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 24.—F. J. A. Hort in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 268 ff.

[5] Irenæus, I. 25; Hippolyt. *Hær. Ref.* VII. 32; Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 7.

[6] Irenæus, I. 24; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 23.

[7] Irenæus, I. 1 ff.; *Hæres. Ref.* VI. 21 ff.; Tertull. *adv. Valent.*; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 31.

Cerdo.

Tatian.

Encratites.

Ophites.

Justin.

Monoimus.

Numbers and influence of the Gnostics.

It is difficult to estimate the number and the influence of the Gnostics. Nowhere does it appear that the Gnostic community was superior to the Catholic Church of the place, but almost everywhere there were Gnostics, and Gnostics distinguished by intellectual activity and boldness. There was much in Gnosticism to attract the Greeks; its generally anti-Judaic spirit, its promise of a conquest over matter and an advance to the fulness and perfection of knowledge, the imaginativeness of its adventurous systems, the ease with which it adopted votaries. But it nevertheless could not endure the steady, disciplined attack of the Church; its unsubstantial pageants vanished before the light of truth; in the third century it had already lost its creative force, in the fourth it is powerless; in the sixth it vanishes, leaving hardly a wreck behind.

---

[1] *Epist. ad Floram*, in Irenæi *Opp.* p. 357 ff.

[2] Irenæus, I. 13 ff.; *Hæres. Ref.* VI. 39 f.; Epiph. *Hæres.* 34.

[3] *Hæres. Ref.* VII. 31; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VI. 10; Epiph. *Hær.* 36.—F. J. A. Hort in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* I. 250.

[4] See p. 89.

[5] Irenæus, I. 28; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. pp. 547, 553 (Potter); *Hæres. Ref.* VIII. 16; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 46; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabb.* I. 20.

[6] Irenæus, I. 30.

[7] *Hæres. Ref.* V. 1 ff.

[8] *Ib.* V. 23.

[9] *Ib.* VIII. 12.

Effects of Gnosticism on the Church.

The effects of Gnosticism on the Church were by no means wholly disastrous. The efforts of the Gnostics to construct a system which should explain all the varied and perplexing phenomena of the universe, led the Christian teachers to point out with more distinctness that they were explained by the principles already revealed in Christ. The contest with men so able and so well acquainted with pagan philosophy as many of the Gnostic teachers were led to the more systematic development of Christian theology; and as a truly Christian theology was developed, the Jewish elements in the Church fell more and more into the background. It is very largely due to the pressure of Gnosticism that art and literature were enlisted in the service of the Church. But these benefits were counterbalanced by serious evils. The Redemption which Gnosticism offered was merely knowledge, which certainly tended to puff men up with a vain sense of their own superiority. Its systems were based not upon historic reality, but upon the mere creations of erratic fancy in an ideal world. Gnostic asceticism and Gnostic laxity both found their way into the Church, and corrupted the pure springs of Christian morality. It is not wonderful then that the Catholic teachers, conscious that the religion of Christ is for man, as man, not for a select coterie of initiated; conscious that speculation is not religion, and that life, as well as truth, is to be found in Christ; it is not wonderful that such teachers set themselves emphatically to oppose the claims and the allurements of the Gnostics. Faith conquered knowledge falsely so called.

MANICHÆISM[1].

5. In the third century arose on the eastern frontier of the Empire a system which was destined to trouble the

---

[1] The principal special works on Manichæism are, Beausobre, *Histoire Critique du Manichée et du Manichéisme*; Georgi, *Alphabetum Thibetanum* (Rome, 1762); F. C. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religions-System*; A. Geyler, *Manichäismus und Buddhismus* (Jena, 1875);

Church for many a year. This was the doctrine of Mani, or Manichæus, which was in its origin a renewal and reform of the old Zoroastrian teaching, with, probably, some admixture of Buddhism. This religion adopted as it spread westward a certain colouring of Christian ideas and phrases, but it remained a foreign and rival power, not a heresy developed from the bosom of the Church itself.

The accounts of Mani's life given by the Eastern[1] and the Western[2] authorities differ materially. We can hardly say of him with any degree of certainty more than this: that in the revival of national and religious life in Persia which took place under the native dynasty of the Sassanidæ, Mani, a member of a distinguished Magian family, became prominent as a teacher. By his eloquence and his many accomplishments he acquired fame and influence, and the favour of more than one Persian king, but was at last cruelly put to death by Varanes [Behram] the Second.

Sassanidæ, from 227.

Mani put to death, c. 277.

Mani attempted, as many had done before him, to explain the enigmas of human life by the supposition of two eternal all-pervading principles, a good and a bad; the good God and his realm of light are opposed to the Evil Spirit and his realm of darkness; good struggles with evil. After long internal conflict, the devilish powers drew together their forces on one tremendous day to battle against the army of light. The first-born of God, the pattern man, fought with the help of the five pure elements, light, fire, air, earth, and water, for the realm of goodness, was overthrown, and again delivered, leaving behind some portion of his light in the power of darkness. For the reception of this, God caused the Living Spirit to form the material universe, in which the vital force, or

---

D. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier u. Ssabism.;* G. Flügel, *Mani's Lehre u. Schriften;* G. T. Stokes in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* III. 792 ff.

[1] D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s.v. Mani; Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires sur Diverses Antiquités de la Perse.*

[2] The earliest is *Archelai cum Manete Disputatio* (in Mansi, *Conc.* I. 1129; and Routh, *Reliquiæ* V. 3); other authorities are Titus Bostrensis, *Κατὰ Μανιχαίων* (in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* I. 56, ed. Basnage); Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 66; and Augustine's numerous treatises, *contra Epist. Manichæi, c. Fortunatum, c. Adimantum, c. Faustum, De Actis cum Felice Man. De Natura Boni, De Genesi c. Manichæos, De Moribus Eccl. Cath. et Manichæorum.* For the fragments of Mani's own writings, see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca,* VII. 323 ff. (ed. Harless).

"soul of the world," is the fragment of light which is held in the bonds of darkness. To redeem this light from its bondage God sent forth two powers, Christ and the Holy Spirit; the one as Sun and Moon, the other as the æther or pure supra-mundane atmosphere, attract to themselves the elements of light enveloped in earth. To retain these elements of light, the Evil Spirit formed man after the image of the pattern-man, making of him a microcosm, in which light and darkness mingled as in the great world. Man then had within himself two vital principles, the reasonable soul, which aspires to the source of light, and the unreasonable soul, full of passionate lusts and longings; hence he was constantly subject to the crafts and deceits of the evil one. Then appeared Christ in his own person upon earth, in a seeming-human body, and seemed to suffer death. The design of the coming of the "Jesus patibilis" was by his attractive force to draw to himself the kindred spirit distributed throughout the world of nature and of man. He began the work of setting free the imprisoned particles of light. But even the apostles misunderstood him through the force of Jewish prejudice; the Scriptures of the Old Testament were the work of evil spirits; those of the New were corrupted, partly by the mistakes of men, partly by the guile of demons; Mani, the promised Paraclete, came to reveal all mysteries and to teach the means whereby the nobler part of the universe may be freed; his writings alone are the guide to all truth. In the end, the light shall be separated from the darkness, and the powers of darkness mutually destroy each other.

Organization of the Manichæans.

Like several of the Gnostic sects, Mani divided his community into the two classes of Initiated, or Chosen, and Hearers or Catechumens; the latter were prepared by a long course of instruction for the revelation of the mysteries of man and nature which was to be granted to them in the higher stage. These, during their catechumenate, received indulgence[1] for the enjoyment of the ordinary pleasures of life in consequence of the intercession of the Chosen. The society was organized in direct imitation of the Catholic Church; during Mani's life, he was himself the head of his Church; after his death, his place was supplied by a succession of vicars or *locum-tenentes*. The representative of the founder was supported and assisted by a body of twelve Masters or Apostles, under whom were seventy-two bishops, and under these again a body of presbyters and deacons. All these were taken from the Initiated. These elect disciples received the seal of the mouth, the hand, and the bosom; the first symbolized their abstinence from all calumny and evil-speaking, as well as from flesh and all intoxicating drinks; the second their desisting from all common toil, and from every act injurious to the life whether of man or beast; the third their refraining from all indulgence of fleshly lust. The Hearers, not yet bound to so strict an observance, were permitted to engage in trade and agriculture, and had to provide food for the Initiated, who were above terrestrial cares. The ministers of the Manichæan sect were said to grant absolution with too great readiness for sins committed, as sins were regarded rather as the work of the evil principle within him than of the man himself; as misfortunes rather than crimes.

---

[1] A. de Wegnern, *Manichæorum Indulgentiæ* (Lipsiae, 1827).

Worship.

Their exoteric worship seems to have been extremely simple, without altars or elaborate ceremony; Sunday was a fast-day; a great annual festival, called the Feast of the Bema or pulpit, was held in March to commemorate the tragic death of Mani; and a magnificent pulpit, as symbol of the teaching power of the Paraclete, stood in Manichæan meeting-houses, raised on five steps, the symbols perhaps of the five pure elements. The esoteric worship of the initiated was kept a close secret. It was thought to consist of baptism in oil, and the participation of a sacred feast without wine, a parody of the Eucharist.

Spread of Manichæism.

In spite of the terrible fate of Mani, his disciples rapidly increased in numbers; they spread in a short time from Persia over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, over Egypt and North Africa, and even reached Italy, Gaul, and Spain. But a few years after the death of Mani, we find Diocletian, who hated religious division in general and a new sect from the hostile realm of Persia in particular, addressing a severe edict[1] to Julian, proconsul of

Diocletian's Edict, A.D. 287.

---

[1] Given in Gieseler, I. 250.

Africa, against this abominable gang of Manichæans, and condemning their chiefs to the flames, their adherents to beheading and confiscation of goods. They spread however notwithstanding; and, though their public worship was suppressed in the sixth century, we find scattered secret societies of Manichæans late in the Middle Ages, if indeed they can be said to be even now extinct.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

6. In the stir of parties and the struggles of sects there became manifest a great unity, the Catholic Church[1]; the Church not of Paul or Cephas, of Montanus or Marcion, but of Christ. In the midst of the winds of doctrine which blew from all quarters, men felt it the more necessary to take their stand upon the Rock. The great mass of the disciples clung to the central truths of Christian doctrine, which were neither Judaic nor Gnostic, but Christian and Apostolic. They felt that behind all partial views were truths which are indeed universal, destined for all men; in spite of all divisions, there was still one all-embracing or "Catholic" Church[2], of which particular Churches were members. The divisions of the early generations played a large part in bringing these things into distinct consciousness. Even St Paul in his lifetime appealed against the strange opinions of isolated innovators to the greater antiquity and universality of the true faith[3]; and after the death of the last surviving Apostle, it was even more necessary to appeal to such a standard against the almost infinite variety of opinions which claimed to be in some sort Christian. The sense of unity and continuity to which the early writers appeal was brought into greater prominence as it was brought into danger.

And as the expectation of the speedy coming of an earthly reign of Christ faded away, the conception of the Church as itself the earthly province of the Kingdom of God asserted its true place in men's minds. It presented itself as a divine institution, a means of deliverance from the world and of adoption into the heavenly kingdom. It is the guardian of the truth committed to it, and the bestower of grace through the Word and the Sacraments which Christ ordained. The ministry is divinely instituted as a continuation of the apostolic office. It is the Church under the guidance of the successors of the Apostles which is recognized as the Apostolic Church; it is the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world which is recognized as Catholic. To belong to the Catholic Church is not only to hold the true faith, but to be a member of that great and unique organization to which its Lord has given exceeding great and precious privileges and promises. To be outside this organization, to be disowned by it, is the last and most fatal of penalties.

---

[1] On the nature of the Church, see Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* Bk. III.; Pearson *On the Creed*, p. 334 ff.; W. Palmer, *Treatise on the Church;* B. F. Westcott, *The Historic Faith*, p. 115 ff.

[2] The phrase is used in Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* c. 8, and in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, in Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 15.

[3] Coloss. i. 5, 6.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH AND ITS OPPONENTS.

CHAP. VI.

SOURCES OF DOCTRINE.

1. THE human mind naturally attempts to connect and systematize the truths imparted to it; it is intolerant of mere isolated fragments of truth. And this systematizing faculty, working upon the truths revealed in Christ, produced in the course of ages the fabric of Christian theology. But in the early years of the Church it was perceived that there must be some limitation of the truths which could be considered Christian; neither the pretended revelations and traditions of the Gnostics, for instance, nor the apocryphal books of some other sects, could be admitted to be sources of Christian doctrine. What then are the genuine sources of Christian truth?

Scripture.

A. In the first place, Holy Scripture[1]. The Scriptures of the Old Testament were received from the first in all the Churches as authoritative declarations of the Divine Will. But here the question arose, what was to be understood under the name "Holy Scripture"? The Hebrew Canon[2] was indeed defined, but several later works of Palestinian and Egyptian Jews, though never received by the Hebrew doctors as equal with the ancient Sacred Books, were thought by many to possess some degree of authority. And to the great mass of Christians, the books of the ancient Jewish Canon and the recent additions were

Old Testament.

---

[1] Chr. Wordsworth, *The Canon of Scripture*; B. F. Westcott, in *Dict. of the Bible*, I. 250 ff. s. v. *Canon*; and *Canon of the New Testament*; C. A. Swainson, *The Authority of the New Testament*; S. Davidson, *The Canon of the Bible*; A. H. Charteris, *The New Testament Scriptures*.

[2] This word is used by anticipation; it does not occur in this sense until a later period than the third century (Westcott, *D. B.* I. 250).

known alike in the Greek language. It was not easy to distinguish the "Canonical" from the "Apocryphal" books—to use the terms by which they came to be designated in later times—when all came before them in the same form and with no outward marks of distinction. And this confusion was propagated in the West by the old Latin Version, which was made from the Greek. The prevalence of this uncertainty induced Melito of Sardes to enquire in the East for the true canon of the ancient Books. The list of the Books of the Old Testament which he gives[1] exactly coincides with that of the English Church, except in the exclusion of the book of Esther. Origen[2] gives in the main the same catalogue, including Esther, and perhaps also Baruch. Although, however, men whose attention had been specially directed to the subject distinguished between the ancient Hebrew books and the later additions, many early writers quote Apocryphal books as of authority. In the case of the New Testament, we have to do with the formation of a Canon, not with the recognition of one already formed. While the teaching of the Apostles, and of others who had seen the Lord, was still fresh in the minds of the brethren, the need of an authentic written standard of the facts and doctrines of the Gospel was scarcely felt. The "word" was a message or proclamation; it was heard, received, handed down. But as this word died away, a variety of written documents claimed to supply its place. It is clear however that, from the earliest date at which we could expect to find evidence of such a fact, the Four Gospels which we recognize occupied a place apart; the picture of Christ which we find in the earliest Christian writers is the picture which we find in the Gospels and not elsewhere. Both in orthodox and heretical writers there is a constancy of reference to the now-received Gospels such as cannot be produced in favour of any other writings whatever. Irenæus, connected by only one intervening link with St John, distinctly recognizes four Gospels[3]—undoubtedly our four—and no more, as the authentic pillars of the Church. The Apostolical Epistles from the first claimed to be something more than occasional writings[4]; and as early as the

Melito,
c. 160.

Origen,
c. 230.

New Testament.

Gospels.

Epistles.

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 26.
[2] *Ib.* VI. 25.
[3] *Hær.* III. 11. 8.
[4] Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. v. 7.

time when the Second Epistle of St Peter was written, the Epistles of St Paul were clearly regarded as Scripture[1]. Basilides the Gnostic, about the year 125, quotes as Scripture the Epistle to the Romans and the First to the Corinthians[2]. Clement of Alexandria recognizes "the Apostle" —the collection of apostolic writings—as correlative to "the Gospel[3]." Tertullian speaks expressly of the "New Testament", as consisting of "the Gospels" and "the Apostle[4]." The earliest testimonies to the existence of the New Testament as a whole are the catalogue contained in the famous Muratorian Fragment[5], written about A.D. 170, a Western document; and the Syriac version of the New Testament, called Peshito, made about the same period, which to a great extent agrees with it. In the third century testimony is abundant to the general reception as Scripture of nearly all the books of the New Testament which we at present acknowledge. Certain books—the Epistle to the Hebrews, of Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, and the Apocalypse—were not received as canonical with the same absolute unanimity as the rest. Of these it may be said, that by the end of the third century "the Apocalypse was universally received, with the single exception of Dionysius of Alexandria, by all the writers of the period; and the Epistle to the Hebrews by the Churches of Alexandria, Asia (?), and Syria, but not by those of Africa and Rome. The Epistles of St James and St Jude were little used, and the Second Epistle of St Peter was barely known[6]." And the reverence with which the books of the New Testament were received was due to the belief that their writers had the special guidance of the Holy Spirit[7]. The Scriptures are divine writings, oracles of God, writings of the Lord[8]. The prophets spoke as they were moved by a spirit given by God[9], yet in such

New Testament as a whole.

Inspiration.

---

[1] 2 Pet. iii. 16.

[2] Hippolyt. *Hær. Ref.* VII. 25, 26.

[3] *Strom.* VII. 3, p. 836; cf. VI. 11, p. 784.

[4] *Adv. Praxeam* 15. Cf. *Adv. Marcion.* IV. 1.

[5] Routh, *Rell. Sacræ*, I. 394; Westcott, *Canon of N. T.* pp. 235 ff., 557 ff.

[6] Westcott in *Dict. Bible*, I. 263.

[7] Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*, App. B, p. 383 ff.; J. Delitzsch, *De Inspiratione Script. Sacræ quid statuerint Patres Apostolici*, etc. (Lips. 1872).

[8] Irenæus, *Hær.* II. 27. 1; I. 8. 1; V. 20. 2.

[9] Πνεύματι ἐνθέῳ, Athenag. *Legat.* 7 and 9. See De Soyres, *Montanism*, pp. 62 ff.

a way that the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets, not in the blind furor or ecstasy of a pagan soothsayer[1]. The recognition of the guidance of the Spirit granted to the sacred writers did not blind the early Fathers to the differences of their gifts. Both Irenæus[2] and Origen[3] made excellent remarks on the peculiarities of the style of St Paul, and Tertullian speaks of him in the early days of his discipleship as still raw in grace[4], as if capable of after-development.

Harmony of Old and New.

It was an object of great importance with the early defenders of the faith to shew the essential harmony of the Old Testament with the New, a harmony which Marcion and some others denied. It is in view of such an opinion that Irenæus[5] lays down, that it is the same Householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old. Both the Old Testament and the New were brought forth by one and the same Word of God, the Lord Jesus Christ. The two Testaments are the two pillars upon which rests the mighty structure of the Church. The method of the ancient interpretation of Scripture is, for the most part, neither historical nor philological; it is the effort of pious and believing minds to find in the books for which they felt so much reverence the greatest amount of edification for their souls.

Interpretation.

The Rule of Faith[6].

B. But the appeal to the Scriptures against heresy was not in all cases conclusive. Many of the early Christians knew little of them; they had believed without paper and ink[7]. And it was difficult for the orthodox teachers to refute the allegorical interpretations by means of which many heretics thrust their own opinions into Scripture, for they themselves also practised the same method. Heretics frequently claimed to possess the only key to its meaning.

Apostolic Churches.

The early teachers did in fact appeal to the doctrine of the Apostles, as maintained in the Churches which they had founded. They appealed to the actually existing faith in the Churches of such cities as Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Rome. Irenæus[1] claimed the authority of his old friend and master; Polycarp had seen an apostle, Valentinus had not. He claimed the authority of the Church of Ephesus, founded by St Paul, instructed by St John; and generally appealed to the store of faith left by the Apostles in the Churches. In precisely the same strain Tertullian[2] affirms, that what the Apostles taught is to be discovered through the Churches which they founded, in which they preached, to which they wrote. That doctrine is to be held true, which agrees with that of the apostolic Churches, the sources and springs of faith.

---

[1] Miltiades in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 17.

[2] *Hær.* III. 7.

[3] In Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 25. 11.

[4] "Gratia rudis," *c. Marcion.* I. 20.

[5] *Hær.* IV. 9. 1; *Fragment* 27, p. 346.

[6] C. A. Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*; Güder in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* v. 178, s. v. *Glaubensregel*; J. R. Lumby, *Hist. of the Creeds*; C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, etc.; A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, ed. G. L. Hahn; C. P. Caspari, *Ungedruckte...Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel.*

[7] Irenæus, *Hær.* III. 4. 2.

And it was natural and indeed necessary that the essence of the apostolic teaching, as it was found in the memories of the Churches and in the writings of the New Testament, should be summed up in a brief and easily grasped shape for the use of the faithful. Such a Rule of Faith, Rule of the Church, Rule of Truth[3], or by whatever name it may be called, does in fact soon make its appearance. No such Rule, as far as we know, was drawn up by any Apostle or by the Apostles collectively, yet a document which set forth the primitive doctrine naturally claimed the authority of Christ and the Apostles. It was given by teachers in a briefer or more extended form as circumstances required, so that it has come down to us in several shapes, in which we may generally trace the special errors against which they are directed.

In Irenæus,

Traces of such a Rule are found in Ignatius[4] and in Justin Martyr[5]. But it is in Irenæus[6] first that we find a tolerably complete summary of the Faith which the Church dispersed throughout the world had received from the Apostles and their disciples; the belief in one God, the Father All-Sovereign[7], who made heaven and earth; in

---

[1] *Hær.* III. 3. 4.

[2] *De Præscript.* c. 21. Cf. c. 26.

[3] ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κανών (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 15, p. 867); κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας (Irenæus, I. 9. 2); regula fidei (Tertullian *De Virgg. Vel.* c. 1; *De Præscript.* c. 13); species eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur (Origen *De Princip.* Procem.).

[4] *Trallian.* 9; *Magnes.* 11.

[5] *Apol.* I. 6.

[6] *Hær.* I. 10. 1. Compare III. 4. 1; IV. 33. 7.

[7] B. F. Westcott, *The Historic Faith*, pp. 36, 215.

Tertullian,

Origen,

Apostolical Constitutions.

one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets proclaimed the life and death, the resurrection and ascension of our beloved Lord, and His coming again in the glory of the Father, to raise up all flesh of all mankind, and to do just judgment upon all. The short Rule given by Tertullian[1] coincides in substance with that of Irenæus, with the addition that the Virgin Mary and Pontius Pilate are mentioned by name. In Origen[2] the statement of the Rule is mingled with paraphrastic comment referring to opinions of the writer's own time, but it is easy to see that the substance of the faith taught in Alexandria was identical with that of Gaul and of Africa. The same may be said of the summary of apostolic teaching given in the Apostolical Constitutions[3], where it is remarkable that the twelve Apostles, with St James the Lord's brother and St Paul, are said to have drawn up this "Catholic teaching" for the use of those to whom the oversight of the Church had been entrusted. In these formularies we have not mere individual utterances, but the expression of what the Church at large felt to be the essence of its faith. These cardinal truths remain fixed and firm, while matters of conduct and organization admit of change from time to time under the influence of the grace of God[4]. But custom and tradition are by no means to be followed contrary to the words of Christ[5].

Heresy.

Side by side with the conception of Catholicity was developed that of Heresy[6]. They who did not accept in its fulness the apostolic doctrine embodied in the Rule of Faith were heretics. Heretics, says Irenæus[1], offer strange fire; doctrines, that is, strange to the Church. They are a rebellious minority. It is of the essence of heresy that it claims to be Christian; that it disguises false doctrine under Christian terms; that it offers, as Ignatius[2] says, a deadly poison mixed with honey-wine; its wolves pass for sheep, its wild beasts for men. It springs from unbridled self-assertion. It is a later birth, while Catholic doctrine is from the beginning, and therefore true[3]. The duty of Christians is to avoid heretics, but to pray for them, that they may be brought to repentance[4]. The Church was continually arming itself against heresy, and so to some extent modified its own attitude.

---

[1] *De Virgg. Vel.* 1; compare *Adv. Praxeam* 2, *De Præscript.* 13.

[2] *De Princip.* Procem. c. 4.

[3] VI. 11 and 14.

[4] Tert. *De Virgg. Vel.* 1.

[5] Cyprian, *Epist.* 63, c. 14.

[6] The word *αἵρεσις* in its origin conveyed no sense of blame; it simply designated any party—as of philosophers, jurists, or theologians—drawn together by holding common opinions. The parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees were *αἱρέσεις* (Acts v. 17; xv. 5); so was the early Church in relation to the Jews (Acts xxiv. 5; xxviii. 22). It is evident however that St Paul felt the term dishonourable (*ib.* xxiv. 14); he places *αἱρέσεις* among the evil works of the flesh (Gal. v. 20), and regards them as trials to the sound in faith (1 Cor. xi. 19). A man given to faction (*αἱρετικόν*) he would reject from the community (Tit. iii. 10; cf. 2 John 10, 11). In his writings the word had already come to designate blameworthy partisanship and separation. In the early Fathers—as Ignatius—the word is only used in an unfavourable sense.

Baptismal confession.

Akin to the Rule of Faith, though distinct from it in origin, is the baptismal Confession. From the earliest times a profession of faith was required of him who would be baptized. When the Lord charged His Apostles to admit men to discipleship by baptism into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost[5], it is clear that He required faith in the Holy Trinity as a condition. A man must "confess the good confession[6]" in order to receive baptism. But in the course of a few generations it came to pass that the candidate was required to answer "somewhat more than the Lord laid down in the Gospel[7]." Something was added of the Church[8], perhaps also the resurrection of the flesh[9].

FAITH IN THE ONE GOD.

2. The central belief of Christians in one God, creator, ruler, sustainer of the universe, was contradictory to polytheism. One of their first tasks was to persuade the heathen that their rejection of a plurality of deities and of visible objects of worship, was not atheism. In controversy with them they appealed both to the works of nature, and to man's inborn, spontaneous recognition of a supreme deity, when his eyes were not blinded that they saw not. The man who knows himself, shall know God[10]. In the Christian conceptions of the deity we see a certain variation in

---

[1] *Hæres.* IV. 26, 2.

[2] *Trall.* 6; *Philadelph.* 2; *Smyrn.* 4.

[3] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* IV. 4.

[4] Ign. *Smyrn.* 4.

[5] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[6] 1 Tim. vi. 12.

[7] Tertullian, *De Cor. Milit.* 3.

[8] Id. *De Baptismo*, 6.

[9] Id. *De Præscript.* 36.

[10] Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* III. 1, p. 250.

teachers of different schools. Tertullian[1] ascribes a bodily form to God, but then he understands by "body" any medium by which "an existing thing manifests its existence;" his "body" is not necessarily gross and palpable. At the other extreme are the Alexandrian theologians, whose great effort it was to keep the conception of God clear of the conditions of time and sense. Origen naturally would not hear of God's being described as in any sense corporeal.

Creation[2].

Unlike the heathen philosophers, Christian teachers almost invariably held that God had made the world, not from pre-existing formless matter, but from nothing[3]; that He was the cause of matter as well as of form. Justin Martyr[4] and Athenagoras[5] are apparent rather than real exceptions. No one of the early writers has more vigorously attacked the pagan view than Tertullian, in his treatise against Hermogenes. Against the Gnostics the doctors of the Church earnestly contend that no inferior handicraft deity was the creator of the world, but the very same almighty Power who redeemed it. And against the Gnostics also it was maintained, that it was not in consequence of any overpowering necessity, but of His own will, of His own love, that God made the world. The pagan notion of a supreme Destiny or Fate, to which even gods were subject, was rejected. God was the creator not only of the visible universe, but also of the invisible world of angels and spirits, by whose agency He rules the world.

The Holy Trinity.

3. But if the unity of the Deity was carefully asserted by the early Church against pagan polytheism and Gnostic dualism, no less earnestly was it maintained that in this Unity is a Trinity of Persons, equally divine[6]. This One

---

[1] *De Carne Christi*, 11. Melito's treatise *περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ* (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 26. 2) probably related to the Incarnation. See G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 898.

[2] J. Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 47 ff.; B. F. Westcott, *The Historic Faith.*

[3] 2 Maccab. ii. 28, that God made all things *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, is quoted as an authority. See, on the whole subject, Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 52 ff.

[4] *Apul.* I. 10: but see *Trypho* 5.

[5] *Legat.* 10, 15.

[6] See G. Bull, *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ ex Scriptis...intra tria prima Ecclesiæ Sæcula;* F. C. Baur, *Die christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit* and *Vorlesungen über Dogmengeschichte*, vol. I. 392 ff.; J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, trans. in

Ebionite Conception.

Docetism.

God in Three Persons is the object of Christian worship and contemplation[1]. In the early ages it was sought to give adequate expression to the central blessing of Christianity, the union of the life of God with the life of Man; and this end could only be attained by such a conception of the divine and human in Christ Jesus as should make clear both the perfect God and perfect Man in Christ, and this without confusion of Persons. Hence the Ebionite conception of Christ as a being essentially human, though filled with the Spirit of God and even in wondrous wise begotten of the Spirit, was rejected as altogether short of the truth. Equally inadequate was the conception of a being essentially divine, seemingly appearing in human form, or seemingly united with the man Jesus. All conceptions, in a word, were rejected, which seemed to endanger either the true divinity of the Son of God, or the true humanity of the Son of Man, or the true union of God and Man in one Christ. If it is in Christ that the one real Atonement is made between God and Man, faith must contemplate in Him at once God with us and the true and perfect Man.

This it was which the Church of the early ages set itself to express in its teaching. The earliest pagan witness testifies expressly that Christians sang a hymn to Christ as God[2]. Clement of Rome[3], Barnabas[4], Ignatius[5], without special exactness of expression, assert the transcendent dignity of the Person of the Son.

The Logos.

Justin.

The word Logos (λόγος), already used by Philo to designate both the reason and the creative utterance of God, was applied by St John to the incarnate Son, and, after him, by Justin Martyr and other Apologists. The Logos is, in the usage of the latter, the deity in Christ, as distinct from His human nature[6]. The Logos existed with the Father at first only potentially, but was brought into actual existence before the creation of the world and

---

Clark's *Theol. Library;* J. Kuhn, *Kathol. Dogmatik*, vol. 3; L. Dunker, *Zur Geschichte d. christl. Logoslehre.*

[1] The word τριὰς is first applied to the Deity by Theophilus of Antioch, *ad Autolycum*, II. 15; "Trinitas" by Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, 21.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96 [al. 97]. Compare Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28. 5.

[3] *Ad Cor.* 16.

[4] *Epist.* c. 5.

[5] *Rom.* Proœm. and c. 2; *Ephes.* 15, 18, 20.

[6] Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, 128.

with a view to that creation[1]. God manifests Himself in Him, just as human reason is manifested in the utterance of an articulate word[2]. The Word is in this mode of conception subordinate. Irenæus[3] on the other hand deprecates as over-subtle all speculation on the manner in which the Son was produced from the Being of the Father, while holding fast the doctrine of His divinity. As regards the Holy Spirit, difficulties arose from the attempt to explain to the understanding His essence and relation to the Father. Some, as Theophilus[4], made the Logos coördinate with the Wisdom or Holy Spirit of God; some, as Justin, seem to make little distinction between Logos and Spirit[5]; Logos, Spirit, Power, seem almost identical terms.

Irenæus.

Theophilus.

Heretical Opinions.

Several teachers deviated from the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity, tending towards one of two extremes. Either, in their anxiety to preserve the unity of God, they identified the Father and the Son, or they made the Son, however exalted, something less than God. The first, starting from the cardinal truth of the divine Unity, contended that the advocates of a Trinity preached two or three gods, and called themselves advocates of the monarchy[6] of the Deity. This "Monarchian" tendency developed itself in different directions.

Dynamistic Monarchians.

One party held that the Supreme Being simply worked upon or influenced the man Christ. This opinion had several adherents. Theodotus was the first who, since the days of the Ebionites, taught that the Lord was mere man, for which heresy he was excommunicated by Victor, bishop of Rome. The same view was maintained by another Theodotus, a money-changer, and also by Artemon[7], who further maintained that his view was that of the primitive Church. In this class must also probably be included those whom Epiphanius[8] calls Alogi, who rejected the whole doctrine of the Logos. But the most conspicuous of those who maintained this heresy is Paul

---

[1] *Apol.* II. 6.

[2] *Tryph.* 61.

[3] *Hæres.* II. 28.

[4] *Ad Autol.* I. 7.

[5] *Apol.* I. 33.

[6] "Monarchiam, inquiunt, tenemus"; Tertull. *adv. Praxeam* 3.

[7] On these three, see Euseb. *H. E.* V. 28. Theodoret (*Hæret. Fabb.* II. 5) gives extracts from the *Little Labyrinth* written against Theodotus and Artemon.

[8] *Hæres.* 54.

Paul of Samosata, fl. 260—272.

of Samosata, the worldly, splendour-loving bishop of Antioch in Syria. He denied that the Son of God came down from Heaven, and asserted that Christ was a mere natural man like other men[1]. God's Logos and God's Spirit remained always in God, just as a man's Reason or Discourse remains in his own heart; the Son was no distinct substance or person (*μὴ εἶναι ἐνυπόστατον*), but in God Himself; the Logos came and dwelt in Jesus, who was a man; but the divine Wisdom dwelt in Him not in essence, but as a quality. He denied that his doctrine involved the suffering of God the Father, saying that the Word alone wrought upon Christ, and ascended again to the Father[2]. Paul was deposed by a synod held at Antioch[3] in the year 269, but his party, under the name of Paulianists or Samosatenians, maintained itself into the fourth century.

Patripassian Monarchians.

Praxeas, fl. c. 175—189.

Others again altogether obliterated the distinction between the Father and the Son. The first who became conspicuous by the advocacy of this confusion was Praxeas, who came from Asia Minor to Rome in the days of Eleutherus and Victor, and combatted Montanist views with great success. His doctrine of the Person of Christ is said to have found considerable acceptance in the imperial city. Tertullian says of him, with characteristic vigour, that he accomplished two tasks for the devil—he banished prophecy and introduced heresy, he put to flight the Paraclete and crucified the Father[4]. He seems to have taught, that the Father and the Son were one Person, the former in a spiritual state of existence, the latter in the flesh. It follows that the Father must have suffered for us, whence those who held this opinion received the name of Patripassians[5].

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 27; 30. 11.

[2] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 65, 1; read together with the fragments of the circular letter of the Antiochene synod preserved in Leontinus of Byzantium *c. Nestor. et Eutych.* (in Galland's *Biblioth. Patr.* xii. 623 ff.). Of the documents in Mansi (*Conc.* i. 1033 ff.) only the *Epist. Episcoporum ad Paulum* seems beyond suspicion. This is also given in Routh's *Reliquiæ*, iii. 289.

[3] According to the Letter of the Semiarians (c. A.D. 358) referred to by Athanasius (*De Synod.* 43), Hilary of Poitou (*De Synod.* 86), and Basil (*Epist.* 22), this council decided *μὴ εἶναι ὁμοούσιον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ πατρί.*

[4] *Adv. Praxeam* 1. Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas is our only authority for all that relates to him.

[5] Pearson, *On the Creed*, pp. 158, 322, notes.

Noetus, fl. c. 200.

Similar views were propounded by Noetus[1], a native of Smyrna, where he was excommunicated for his heresy about the year 200. He, if we may trust the accounts of his opponents, held that the one God and Father, the Maker of the universe, appears and disappears when He will and as He will; one and the same Person is visible and invisible, begotten and unbegotten; unbegotten from the beginning, begotten when He willed to be born of a virgin; in His own nature incapable of suffering and death, and again of His own free will capable of suffering and death, even the death of the cross. The same Person bears the name of Father or Son, as circumstances require. Noetus's doctrine was propagated in Rome by his disciple Epigonus[2], who there won over Cleomenes, and in Rome it found its most able and conspicuous opponent in Hippolytus. This distinguished teacher held the Person of the Son to be distinct from the Person of the Father, but, in order to preserve the primordial unity of the Deity, he maintained that Christ must be described as a "begotten God" (*θεὸς γεννητός*). The Logos has no doubt a distinct personality, but He first became a Person by proceeding forth from God the Father as His first-born, through Whom all things were made. Hippolytus himself, in fact, regarded the Son as a Being created simply by the will of the Father[3]. Against this view Zephyrinus, then bishop of Rome, declared that he at least acknowledged only one God; he believed Christ, the incarnate Son of God, to be, not another God distinct from the Father, but in His divine Being or Substance the same with God the Father. Zephyrinus had probably no intention of denying the Personality of the Son, but simply wished to protest against what he considered the ditheism of Hippolytus. The latter however retorted upon him fiercely: and when Zephyrinus's successor in the bishopric, Callistus, entered the lists against him, he attacked him with still greater bitterness; a bitterness intensified probably by circum-

Noetianism in Rome, c. 215.

Zephyrinus.

Callistus.

---

[1] Hippolytus, *c. Hær. Noeti* (in Hipp. *Opp.* p. 43 f. ed. Lagarde), and *Hæres. Ref.* IX. 10; Epiphanius *Hæres.* 57; Theodoret *Hæret. Fab.* III. 3.

[2] This is the account of Hippolytus (*Hær. Ref.* IX. 7). Theodoret (*Hæret. Fabb.* III. 3), perhaps out of mere misunderstanding of Hippolytus, makes Epigonus and Cleomenes the *teachers* of Noetus.

[3] *Hæres. Ref.* X. 33, p. 436.

stances which are very imperfectly known to us[1]. Making allowance for the evident bias of Hippolytus. our only authority on this matter, it seems probable that Callistus attempted to maintain the unity of Substance in the Deity against Hippolytus, while protesting against the confusion of Persons introduced by Noetus and others. For while Rome was yet agitated by the opinions of Noetus, a new form of error had found its way thither, the "modalism" of Sabellius.

Sabellius, fl. c. 215—220.

It is uncertain whether this remarkable person sprang from Libya or from Italy. It is certain that in the episcopate of Zephyrinus he was at Rome, where he was won over to the opinions of Cleomenes, which he developed after his own fashion. When Callistus, who had previously seemed to encourage him, became bishop, he disowned Sabellius, and it was perhaps for this reason that the latter left Rome for the East and became a presbyter at Ptolemais, where his success induced Dionysius of Alexandria to write a treatise against him. His system probably derived something from the same Gnostic source which influenced the Clementine Homilies[2]. The Monad, he says, becomes by extension a Triad; God extends and again contracts Himself. As there are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit, so the Father always remains the same, but is extended into Son and Spirit[3]. The same God, remaining One in substance, transforms Himself according to the several needs which arise, and now addresses us as Father, now as Son, now as Holy Spirit. In the Old Testament He legislated as Father; in the New He became man as Son; as Holy Spirit He descended upon the Apostles[4]. And he compared the Deity to the sun, which though always remaining one substance, has three energies or modes of manifestation; first, his actual mass or disc; second, that which causes light; third, that which causes heat[5].

Beryllus.

In the same class with Noetus and Sabellius may be placed Beryllus of Bostra, whose leading tenet was, that the Son before His Incarnation had no defined personal existence[1]. Beryllus, however, was convinced of his error by the arguments of Origen.

---

[1] See p. 82, note 1.

[2] *Hom.* xvi. 12.

[3] Athanasius, *c. Arian.* Orat. iv. 12 and 25.

[4] Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabb.* ii. 9.

[5] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 62, § 1.

244. *Origen.*

In the working out of the human expression of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the teaching of Origen[2] is of great importance. With him, God is the one real existence, the ground of all the phenomena of the universe. But it is impossible to conceive God, the supreme energy, resting in idleness and immobility; He must therefore exert His ceaseless energy in creative work, and He must reveal Himself[3]. The link between the eternal God and the creation is the Son, the very image of His substance; the word "Wisdom," applied to Him in the older writings, denotes the totality of the primal thoughts, which are the eternal forms of the universe, the source of which is the Son. The expression "Logos" denotes the revelation and communication of these same thoughts which are contained in the Divine Wisdom. But we must not attribute all this to the Will of the Father only; for the Will of God is itself impersonated in the Son. The Son is begotten of the Father; but we must not say that a portion of the substance of the Father is transformed into the Son, or that He was created out of nothing by the Father; there was never a time in which God was not the Father of the Son; with God all things are present[4]. The Son is a consubstantial emanation from the glory of the Father. Yet is this identity of substance a conditional one, for the Father alone is the absolute God; in this respect the Son is inferior to the Father. The Father, He said, is greater than I. The Father therefore alone is the proper object of worship. Origen even sometimes speaks of the Son as created or fashioned. The subordination of the Son shows itself in His work, the Son does the same as the Father, but the impulse comes from the Father; He is the instrument by which the Father works.

The Holy Spirit is made through the Son, for all things were made through Him[5]; He is the first and chiefest Being made by the Father through the Son, and subordinate to the Son, as the Son to the Father. He it is Who sanctifies the elect people of God.

---

[1] *Μὴ προϋφεστάναι κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφήν*, Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 33.

[2] See p. 72 ff.

[3] *De Principiis*, III. 5. 3.

[4] Orig. *in Genes.* (*Opp.* II. 1, ed. Delarue). Cf. *De Princip.* I. 2; IV. 28; fragment in Athanasius, *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* c. 27.

[5] *In Joannem*, I. 3 (*Opp.* IV. 60, ed. Delarue).

In Origen's doctrine of the Holy Trinity therefore there is clearly subordinationism. In teaching the consubstantiality of the Son, Origen is the forerunner of Athanasius; when he teaches subordinationism, he may be appealed to by the Arians.

In the early days of the Church few Latin writers appear as theologians. Tertullian, however, is a vehement opponent of Patripassianism. He is himself a decided subordinationist, considering the Father as the whole substance of the Godhead, and the Son as a portion of, or effluence from, Him[1]. The Holy Spirit in Tertullian's scheme occupies the same subordinate position as in Origen's. How widespread was the Patripassian theory is shown by the fact, that the poet Commodian held it, apparently without any consciousness that he had deviated from the faith of the Church.

CHILIASM.

4. Many, perhaps most, of the early Christians regarded the second coming of Christ, and His final victory over all that opposed, as rapidly approaching. And to most of these the coming of the Lord presented itself in the form of Chiliasm, the expectation of a thousand-years reign of the Redeemer, with His risen and glorified saints, upon earth, as a preparation for the final consummation of all things[2]. Probably the contest against Gnosticism tended to strengthen the belief in a material aspect of the Kingdom of God which the Gnostics denied. The Epistle of Barnabas[3] first lays it down, that as one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, the first six thousand years of the world's existence are as the six days of creation,

---

[1] *Adv. Praxeam*, cc. 7, 8, 9, 26. "Fuit tempus cum et Filius non fuit." *c. Hermogenem*, c. 3.

[2] J. M. Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, xx. 95 ff. ed. Cotta; Joseph Mede, *Clavis Apocalyptica*, especially *The Thousand Years*, in Appendix (*Works*, vol. 2); J. Lightfoot, *De Chiliasmo Præsenti*, in *Critici Sacri, Thesaurus Novus*, II. 1042; T. Burnet, *The Millenary Reign of Christ*, in *De Statu Mortuorum*, vol. 2; [H. Corrodi], *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus;* Chr. Wordsworth, *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, Lect. I.; S. Waldegrave, *New Test. Millennarianism*; E. B. Elliott, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. 4; Münscher, *Lehre vom tausendjährigen Reich*, in Henke's *Magazin*, VI. 2, p. 233 ff.; J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, I. 240.

[3] c. 15, §§ 4, 5.

and the seventh period is to be a thousand years of sabbatic peace and rest. Justin Martyr[1] expects Christ to reign a thousand years in Jerusalem. The materialistic and sensuous view of the reign of Christ appears in the description of the blessings of the saints quoted from Papias by Irenæus[2]. Irenæus himself derives his imagery from such passages as those which speak of the wolf dwelling with the lamb, of the fruit of the vine to be drunk in the Father's Kingdom, of the fashion of this world passing away. Tertullian, as a Montanist, was of course extremely emphatic in his belief of the speedy coming of the Lord. At the end of the second century these opinions, when they were propagated at Rome by Cerinthus, were strongly opposed by Caius the presbyter[3]. In Alexandria, they met still more vigorous opposition, and under the great influence of Origen[4], came to be regarded as at any rate fanatical, if not heretical.

---

[1] *Trypho*, cc. 80, 81.

[2] *c. Hæres.* v. 33. 3. In Gebhardt and Harnack's *Patr. Apost.* II. 87.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* III. 28.

[4] *De Principiis*, II. 11, § 2.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. VII.

1. THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY[1]. *Unity.*

FROM the first, the Church of God had a deep consciousness of its unity; its members were bound together by a common feeling for religion, a common system, a common hope[2]. Wherever there were Christians, a brother found himself at home. Whoever came to a Church and brought the true teaching was to be received and entertained[3]. Especially were they to be honoured who spoke the Word of God[4]. The Apostles, Prophets and Teachers[5], who passed from Church to Church without being of necessity officials of any, had no doubt a large share in keeping alive the sense of unity in the scattered communities. These were men raised up by the Holy Spirit for the work which they undertook. There is no record of their being elected or ordained; the Church recognized the gift which was in them. Careful arrangements were made for their reception in the Churches which they

Apostles, Prophets, Teachers.

---

[1] L. Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina;* J. B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, in his ed. of the *Epist. to the Philippians*, p. 179 ff. (1869); Charles Wordsworth, *Outlines of the Christian Ministry*, and *Remarks on Dr Lightfoot's Essay;* Edwin Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Bampton Lectures, 1880; F. Probst, *Kirchliche Disciplin in den drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten;* A. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Band II. Heft 1 u. 2, § 5.

[2] Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.

[3] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, XI. 1.

[4] *Ib.* IV. 1. Compare Hebr. xiii. 7.

[5] 1 Cor. xii. 28. Cf. Ephes. ii. 20; iii. 5; Hermæ *Pastor*, Visio III. 5. 1. It must be borne in mind that the title ἀπόστολος (=missionary) is not limited to the Twelve. On the Prophets, see E. H. Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, p. 323.

visited, and directions given to guard against impostors[1]; for in very early times tares were found among the wheat. But besides teachers specially raised up, a regular organization for teaching and government was found in each Church.

Clergy and Laity.

The distinction of clergy[2] (*κληρικοί*) and laity (*λαϊκοί*) is found at an early age of the Church. Clement of Rome[3] hints not obscurely a parallel between the order of the priesthood in the Jewish Church and that of the Christian ministry. The Ignatian letters are full of references to a distinct order of ministry with several ranks; Polycarp has much to say on its claims and duties. Irenæus speaks[4] rather of the distinction conferred by moral and spiritual excellence, the Alexandrian Clement rather of the privileges of the true Christian "gnostic,[5]" than of a formal order of ministers, though clearly recognizing a distinction between the presbyter, the deacon, and the layman[6]. It is in Tertullian that we first find the words "sacerdos" and "sacerdotium" applied directly to the Christian ministers and ministry[7]; yet he asserts distinctly enough the priesthood of the community in Christ, though the authority of the Church made a distinction between clergy and laity, "ordo" and "plebs," as was plainly indicated in the separate bench assigned to the former[8]. A few years later Hippolytus speaks[9] of himself as sharing in the grace of high-priesthood (*ἀρχιερατείας*).

But in no early writer do we find the sacerdotal claims and functions of the ministry put forward so distinctly as they are by Cyprian; he frankly applies to the officers of the Christian Church passages relating in the first instance to the privileges and duties of the Aaronic priesthood[10]; those who oppose the priesthood are guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram[11]. The language of the

---

[1] *Teaching*, xi—xiii; Hermæ *Pastor*, Mandat. xi.

[2] On the derivation of the word, see Baur, *K. Geschichte*, i. 266, note 3; Ritschl, *Alt-Kathol. Kirche*, p. 388 ff.; Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 245 ff. (2nd ed.).

[3] *Ad Corinthios*, cc. 40—44.

[4] E.g. *Hæres.* iv. 8. 3; v. 34. 3.

[5] *Strom.* vi. 13, p. 793.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 12, p. 552.

[7] E.g. *De Præscript.* c. 41; *De Baptismo*, c. 17; *De Virgin. Vel.* c. 9.

[8] *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 7.

[9] *Hæres. Ref.* Procem. p. 3.

[10] See, for instance, *Epistt.* 3, 4, 43, 59, 66.

[11] *De Eccl. Unit.* cc. 18, 19; p. 226 f. ed. Hartel.

Apostolical Constitutions[1], probably contemporary with Cyprian, is not less strong.

Orders of the Ministry.

With regard to the particular offices of the ministry, we have already seen[2] that instances of one person exercising in a Church an authority such as we call episcopal are not wanting in the Apostolic age. The leading indications of the several orders of the ministry in early writers are as follows.

Bishops[3] and Deacons.

The Apostles, says Clement of Rome[4], appointed their first-fruits as "bishops and deacons" of those who should join the faith; here, as in St Paul's epistles, all officers of the Church deriving authority from the Apostles seem to be included under the two categories of direction or supervision and executive or ministerial activity. Moreover, they directed that after they had fallen asleep other approved men should succeed to their office (λειτουργίαν); therefore, continues Clement, those who had either been appointed by the Apostles themselves, or by men of consideration with the consent of the Church, were not lightly to be deposed from their office; expressions which seem to imply that after the time of the Apostles, the chief officers of a Church were appointed by a council of its most distinguished members, with the assent of the general body of the faithful.

Three Orders.

The *Shepherd* of Hermas describes as the squared stones of the great building, "Apostles, and bishops and teachers and deacons[5]", where the "teachers" are probably presbyters, regarded in their teaching capacity; so that the division of offices here appears to be equivalent to that into bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons.

Before the middle of the second century we find a distinct recognition of the three orders of the Christian ministry, bishops, presbyters, and deacons[6]. And opposite parties agree in inculcating the most profound respect for the bishops, who are the centres of unity. Nothing was to be done without the bishop and the presbyters; the faithful were to obey the bishop even as Christ[1]; in obeying the bishop, they obeyed God[2]. Such is the language of the opponents of Judaism. Nor is that of the Judaizers themselves less emphatic; the bishop sits in the seat of Christ[3]; he is the look-out at the bows of the ship of the Church[4]; is entrusted with the place of Christ; whoso honours him honours Christ[5]; he presides over and guards the truth delivered to the Church[6]. Irenæus and Tertullian, at the end of the second century, assume everywhere the universal prevalence of episcopacy from the time of the Apostles themselves; they know nothing of any other form of government.

---

[1] E.g. II. 33 f.

[2] Above, p. 30.

[3] On the office of bishop, see A. W. Haddan, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* I. 208 ff.

[4] *Ad Corinthios*, c. 44.

[5] *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ διάκονοι.* *Visio* III. 5. See Gebhardt and Harnack's ed. pp. 39, 40.

[6] Ignatius, *ad Polycarpum*, c. 6.

And not only do we find opposing parties agreeing in paying the highest respect to the episcopal office, but the succession of bishops in many cities is traceable to a very high antiquity[7].

Prominence of Episcopacy in controversy.

The statement of Jerome[8], that episcopacy was developed out of presbyterianism in consequence of the increase of faction and schism, which rendered necessary the predominance of one head in each Church, is probably not well founded, and is contradicted by other authorities[9]. But there can be no doubt that the dissensions of the early ages, especially the struggles of Judaism and Gnosticism against catholic Christianity, turned men's thoughts to the advantage arising from the recognition of one head in each Church; the due succession of bishops was the chief security for the maintenance throughout the world of the teaching transmitted from the Apostles themselves[10]; in the universal prevalence of episcopacy was the varied unity of the Church most clearly seen[11].

Bishops and Presbyters.

Yet, even when a distinct episcopal order is fully recognized, bishops are still called presbyters by Greek[12] and sacerdotes by Latin[13] writers; the offices of bishop and presbyter were not separated by so broad a line as those of presbyter and deacon; "every bishop is a presbyter, but every presbyter is not a bishop[1]"; the practice of the Church, rather than any fundamental distinction, made the episcopate greater than the presbytery[2]. In truth, in the earliest times, the bishop is never divorced from the presbytery, which forms a "spiritual coronal" around him[3]; it is the especial duty of the presbyters to support and encourage their bishop[4]; they are to him as strings to the lyre[5]; the faithful are to submit themselves not only to the bishop but to the presbyters, as apostles of Christ and the council of God[6]. In each Church there is one bishop as there is one sanctuary, and with each bishop is joined the presbytery and the deacons[7].

---

[1] Ignatius, *ad Magn.* c. 7; *Trall.* c. 2; *Philadelph.* cc. 3, 7; *Smyrn.* cc. 8, 9.

[2] *Ephes.* cc. 5, 6.

[3] Clementine *Hom.* III. 60.

[4] Clementine *Epist. ad Jacobum*, c. 14.

[5] *Hom.* III. 66.

[6] *Epist. ad Jacob.* cc. 2, 6, 17.

[7] J. J. Blunt, *First Three Centuries*, ch. IV.

[8] *On Titus* i. 5 (*Opp.* VII. 694, ed. Vallarsi); *Epist.* 146 *ad Evang.* (I. 1082).

[9] E. g. Theodore of Mopsuestia on 1 Tim. iii. 1.

[10] Irenæus, *Hæres.* IV. 33. § 8.

[11] Cyprian, *De Unit. Eccl.* c. 5; *Epist.* 55, c. 24 (ed. Hartel).

[12] Irenæus, III. 2. 2.

[13] Cyprian, *Epist.* 55, c. 8; 61, c. 1.

One city, one bishop.

Every city in which a Church was formed had its bishop, whose position in many respects resembled that of the rector of a parish surrounded by his assistant clergy rather than that of the modern bishop of a diocese, containing perhaps several large towns. To him it belonged to preside over the assemblies, whether of the presbyters or of the brethren at large; to decide finally on the reception or exclusion of members; to grant commendatory letters to members of his flock passing into other dioceses; to maintain correspondence with other Churches[8]; to ordain, to preach, to administer the Sacraments; the two latter offices he might, and often did, delegate in case of necessity to his presbyters.

Bishop Desecularized.

As the number of the faithful increased, it became more and more necessary to prevent the ministers of the Church from being entangled in worldly affairs; a bishop was forbidden even to undertake the guardianship of children, as tending to withdraw him from his proper avocations[9]. This withdrawal of the highest order from secular affairs tended to give greater prominence and influence to the order which had from the first the principal charge of charitable organization of the Church—that of deacons[1], ministri, or, as they soon came to be called, Levites. These formed a link between the higher clergy and the laity; besides preaching and baptizing by the bishop's authority, they kept order in the churches, they received the offerings of the faithful, prepared the Holy Table, read the Gospel, administered the Sacrament, both to the faithful who were present at the Lord's Supper and to those who were absent by reason of sickness[2]. In numberless ways they were the active agents of the bishop. One of their number, who was more especially attached to his service, received the name of archdeacon, and became one of the most important officers of the Church. In some Churches, the original number of deacons, seven, was not exceeded for several generations[3]. That the deacons, possessing so much actual power, did not always confine themselves within the proper limits of their office, is evident from a decree of the early part of the fourth century[4].

---

[1] Pseudo-Ambrosius [Hilary] on 1 Tim. iii. 10.

[2] Augustine, *Epist.* 82, c. 33 (p. 202, ed. Ben.).

[3] Ignatius, *ad Magn.* c. 13.

[4] *Ad Trall.* c. 12.

[5] *Ad Ephes.* c. 4.

[6] *Ad Trall.* cc. 3 and 4.

[7] *Ad Philadelph.* c. 4.

[8] Hermas, *Pastor*, Visio II. 4. 3. St Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians as representing the Church of Rome; *Ep.* I. 1.

[9] Cyprian, *Epist.* 1, c. 1.

Deacons.

Arch-deacon.

But the needs of the Church occasioned a still further extension of the ranks of the ministry. In the third century we find already, besides the superior orders, subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers[6]. Those who were destined for the higher office passed in most instances through a period of probation in these lower stations.

Other officers[5]. *Circ.* A.D. 250.

There is possibly a trace of the office of Reader even in Scripture itself[7]; and the homily which is known as the Second Epistle of Clement[8], and which is not later than

Reader.

---

[1] Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 526.

[2] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. 65; Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, c. 25; *Epist.* 5, c. 2; 17, c. 1; 15, c. 1; 16, c. 3 (ed. Hartel).

[3] *Conc. Neo-Cæsar.* c. 14 [al. 15]. (Mansi, II. 546; Routh's *Reliquiæ*, IV. 185.) Seven was the number of Roman deacons in the middle of the third century. Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43. 11.

[4] *Conc. Arelat.* cc. 15, 18 (Mansi, II. 566).

[5] On the minor orders in the first two centuries see A. Harnack, *Ueber den Ursprung des Lectorats und der anderen niederen Weihen*, in his *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Band II. Heft 5.

[6] Letter of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43. 11. The *Apostolical Constitutions* (VIII. 46. 7) mention only subdeacons and readers (in addition to the higher orders) as appointed by the Apostles.

[7] Revel. i. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 13. Compare Justin, *Apol.* I. 67.

[8] c. 19, 1; a passage in c. 17, 3 seems to exclude the supposition that it was to be read by a presbyter.

the middle of the second century, certainly seems to have been written with a view to being publicly delivered by a reader. In the most ancient directions for the ordination of Church ministers, the reader is mentioned before the deacon, and is required (among other qualifications) to possess the gift of fluency, "knowing that he discharges the office of an evangelist[1]". All this indicates that in the early days of the Church the reader was a person possessing a special gift, regarded as akin to that of prophecy, though in the third century his office had become mechanical, and he was ranked, as we have seen, last but one of the minor officials. Even then, however, when his office was limited to the reading aloud of the selected portions of Scripture in the congregation, he retained traces of his former quasi-prophetic office. The stipend which is assigned to him is said to be "for the honour of the prophets[2]," and in his ordination the Lord is implored to bestow upon him the prophetic spirit[3]. It is noteworthy, that all the ancient Western ordinals refer the election of the reader to the brethren, meaning probably the clergy[4]. He was anciently ordained with laying-on of hands[5]; later, by the delivery of the book from which he was to read[6].

Exorcist.

The office of Exorcist was also one which required a special gift—that of casting out evil spirits[7]—which could not be conferred by the laying-on of hands. Hence the exorcist does not receive ordination in that form; the grace that is in him is manifest to all[8]. The ancient Western ordinals direct the bishop to constitute an exorcist by delivering to him a book of exorcisms[9]—the office then implying duties little more than mechanical.

Sub-deacons.

Two causes contributed to render necessary an order of Subdeacons. As the congregations became larger and the services more elaborate, the deacons were found to be no longer capable of discharging all the offices which fell to them, in the congregation and out of it; while at the same time a religious scruple prevented the authorities in many cases, even in large towns, from appointing a larger number of deacons than the mystic seven sanctioned by the practice of the Apostles in Jerusalem[1]. Hence a subordinate order was instituted to discharge such portions of the Deacons' office as might be delegated to them. These officers were probably first appointed in a Greek-speaking Church, such as that of Rome, for even Cyprian speaks of them as "hypodiaconi." It is noteworthy that Fabian, who was bishop of Rome in the middle of the third century, is said[2] to have appointed seven subdeacons in addition to the already existing seven deacons, as if to bring up the number of the two together to that of the "regions" of the city, to which greater importance had recently been given by the appointment of a kind of subprefect in each by Alexander Severus. We have not sufficient information to enable us to give any exact definition of the duties of the subdeacon in the first three centuries. Cyprian[3] employed them as his messengers to the Churches under his charge.

---

[1] Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀποστ. c. 19; in Harnack, *Texte* etc. Bd. II. p. 234; and *Lectorat* etc. p. 17.

[2] *Const. Apost.* II. 28. 2.

[3] *Ib.* VIII. 22; Lagarde's *Reliquiæ Juris Eccl.* c. 11, p. 8.

[4] E. Hatch in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Ordination*, p. 1506.

[5] *Const. Apost.* VIII. 22.

[6] Hatch, u.s. p. 1509.

[7] Cyprian, *Epist.* 69, c. 15.

[8] *Const. Apost.* VIII. 26; Lagarde's *Reliquiæ*, c. 15.

[9] Hatch, u.s. p. 1509.

Acolyth.

The *ἀκόλουθος*, sometimes spoken of under the equivalent Latin name "sequens[4]," was the follower or personal attendant of some higher official, probably a presbyter. Their appointment seems to indicate a certain increase of state and dignity in the higher officials, but they are not mentioned, in this early period, in such a way as to indicate with any exactness the duties of their office. The number of acolyths at Rome mentioned in the letter of Cornelius was forty-two—just thrice the number of the regions in the city.

Door-keepers.

As the deacons came to be more and more occupied with higher duties, the lower were delegated to officials of a different class. Among these were the door-keepers (ostiarii or *θυρωροὶ*) who discharged the duty of watching the doors, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons. They are first mentioned in the letter of Cornelius of Rome already referred to.

These were the male officers of the Church. But it was thought well to give to women also a share in the sacred

---

[1] See above, p. 129.

[2] *Liber Pontificalis*, no. II. p. 148, ed. Duchesne.

[3] *Epist.* 29; 34, c. 4 etc.

[4] *Lib. Pontif.* no. II. pp. 137, 161. Ed. Duchesne.

Widows.

ministry[1]. The widows about whom directions are given in the Pastoral Epistles[2] seem to be rather those whose maintenance was undertaken by the Church than a band of workers. No mention, at least, is made there of any special work entrusted to them, though the fact that those placed on the roll were required to be already distinguished for good works seems to indicate that they were not mere dependents on the bounty of the Church. The word "widow"[3] however soon came to be applied to single women who devoted themselves to Church work, so that Ignatius[4] salutes "the virgins who are called widows," and Tertullian[5] mentions—and denounces—the case of a virgin who had been entered on the roll of widows before she was twenty. The widows were to be engaged, some in intercession and in waiting for the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit; some in nursing the sick, and reporting to the presbyters such cases as required their help[6].

Deaconesses.

The seclusion of women in the East rendered them in many cases inaccessible to the ministrations of men, and the office of deaconess was created to reach them[7]. Thus we find Phœbe called by the same title as a male deacon[8], and directions given about the qualifications of women-deacons[9]. Deaconesses, like widows, might be either virgins, or widows who had been once married[10]. The widows were placed under the orders of the deaconesses[11], who are again made subject to the deacons[12]. The duties of the deaconess, besides that of paying pastoral visits to women under the direction of the bishop, were, to keep the door of the women's entrance to the church, and to perform such portions of the baptismal rite as could not without indelicacy be undertaken by men[13]. She was to be appointed by the bishop only, not by any inferior officer[14].

Dioceses.

The members of Christian communities in the neighbourhood of a city attended its services[1] and acknowledged the authority of its bishop. Those which were more remote were cared for by their own presbyters and deacons[2]; or sometimes even a deacon, without bishop or presbyter, had charge of a congregation, though not, of course, so as to exercise specially episcopal functions[3].

---

[1] Διαταγαὶ, c. 24.

[2] 1 Tim. v. 3—15.

[3] It should be borne in mind that neither χήρα nor *vidua* of their own proper force imply loss of a husband or wife. See W. L. Bevan in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Widow*. *Vidua* is used in classical Latin for unmarried (Livy, I. 46).

[4] *Ad Smyrnæos*, 13.

[5] *De Virginibus Vel.* 9.

[6] Διαταγαί, c. 21.

[7] *Const. Apost.* III. 15. 5.

[8] Διάκονος, Rom. xvi. 1.

[9] 1 Tim. iii. 11. See Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 189.

[10] *Const. Apost.* VI. 17.

[11] *Ib.* III. 7. 7.

[12] *Ib.* II. 26. 3.

[13] *Ib.* II. 57. 7; III. 15. 6; VIII. 23. 4.

[14] *Ib.* III. 11.

Chor-episcopi.

In the latter part of the third century mention is made of bishops of country districts (ἄγρων[4]) as well as of towns, and a little later we find such bishops recognized under the title of χωρεπίσκοποι, or district-bishops; these, however, had no power of ordaining without a commission from the city-bishop to whom they were subject[5]. We see here a difference of rank within the limits of the episcopal order itself.

Election of Bishops.

As to the election of bishops and other officers of the Church, Clement of Rome[6] describes the "bishops and deacons," after the death of the apostles, as being appointed by "men of consideration" with the assent of the whole Church. By these ἄνδρες ἐλλόγιμοι may possibly be understood men like Titus and Timothy, commissioned by the apostles themselves to "appoint elders"; but it seems more probable that the term is intended to designate those who from the length of time that they had been disciples, their rank, or their personal qualities, exercised a dominant influence in the community; the "seniors[7]" of a later time. At all events, the assent of the whole Church is appealed to as a proof of the validity of the appointment of the rulers who succeeded the apostles. And we find the popular election of bishops still maintained in the third century; Cyprian[8] represents the vote of the whole brotherhood in a city as necessary for the valid appointment of its bishop, the lay people as having a dominant influence in choosing good pastors and rejecting bad. Even if there were in a city but three Christians competent to vote, they were still to have a bishop, but their choice was to be assisted and ratified by their brethren from a neighbouring city[1]. But after that the relations of Churches and bishops to each other had been developed and organized, another element appears in the choice of prelates,—the assent of the neighbouring comprovincial bishops[2].

---

[1] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. c. 67.

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* 15, c. 1.

[3] *Conc. Elib.* c. 77 (Mansi, II. 18).

[4] In a letter of the Church of Antioch, in Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 30. 10.

[5] *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 13 (Mansi, II. 517); compare *Conc. Neo-Cæsar.* c. 13 [al. 14], (Mansi, II. 546).

[6] *Ad Corinth.* c. 44.

[7] *Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani* etc. p. 268 (in Optatus's *Works*); in this passage "seniores" are distinct from "presbyteri."

[8] *Epist.* 67, cc. 3—5; 55, c. 8. Compare *Const. Apost.* VIII. 4. 2.

Case of Alexandria.

But this does not seem to have been universally required; in Alexandria, at least, up to the middle of the third century, the presbyters always nominated as bishop one chosen out of their own body, just as an army might elect a general[3]. A later authority[4] says that it was not until the time of Alexander (A.D. 313—336) that the presbyters ceased to ordain the patriarch.

Consecration.

The choice of the person, however, to whom the episcopal office was to be committed was a matter entirely distinct from the conferring of the distinctive authority of the office. The person once chosen received the imposition of hands from his fellow bishops, and was regarded not simply as the elected head of the community, but as invested with an authority derived from the Lord Himself[5]; the voice of the people was the voice of God[6]; the bishops were successors of the Apostles[7]; the gifts conferred by ordination were divine. Three bishops, or two at least, were to lay hands on the head of the person to be consecrated[8].

Choice of ministers of lower rank.

Nor was it the bishop only who was chosen by the voice of the community over which he was to preside; ministers of other orders, not only presbyters and deacons, but even readers, were not appointed in ordinary cases without the people being summoned to deliberate on their merits; though in cases where a special fitness was manifest the bishop might exercise his individual judgment and authority[9]. In ordination to inferior offices, not more than one bishop was required to lay hands on the head of the candidate[1]. In some cases unction was added to the laying-on of hands.

---

[1] Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀποστ. c. 16, in Harnack, *Texte* etc. II. 2, p. 232.

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* 59, c. 5, and 67, c. 5.

[3] Jerome, *Epist.* 146, *ad Evang.* (Opp. I. 1082).

[4] Eutychius, *Annales*, I. 331 (quoted by Lightfoot, 229).

[5] Cyprian, *Epist.* 3, c. 3; 66, c. 9.

[6] Cyprian, *Epist.* 58, c. 5; 66, c. 1.

[7] *Ib.* 45, c. 3.

[8] *Conc. Arelat.* (A.D. 314), c. 20, in Mansi, II. 473; *Can. Apost.* 1.

[9] Cyprian, *Epist.* 38.

Qualifications.

The bishop was for the most part chosen from the members of the Church over which he was to preside, and generally from among those who had already borne some office in the ministry[2]; he who had borne well the inferior office earned for himself a higher place. That in times of peril the communities endeavoured to choose men fitted by age, character, and holiness to guide them aright will readily be understood. The training of the Spirit, the education of practical work, superseded in early days special schools for the clergy; yet the catechetic school of Alexandria rose into fame in the third century, and came to be regarded as an advantageous place of training for those who were to undertake the sacred ministry; and schools frequented by Christians were formed at Cæsarea, Antioch and Rome. The older Christian writers, as Clement of Alexandria and the Apologists, owed their learning and cultivation to heathen and not to Christian schools.

Celibacy[3].

While Christian teachers were insisting on the parallel between the Christian ministry and the Jewish priesthood, in one respect at least they entirely deserted this analogy. Marriage had been held in honour among the Jews, and Jewish priests had been always married. But even in early days a notion that marriage implied imperfect sanctity crept into the Christian Church; and as imperfect sanctity was certainly not befitting those who served the altar, the celibacy of priests came first to be recommended and then to be enjoined. Second marriages of the clergy were from the first discommended[4], and even held to exclude from ecclesiastical offices[5]; but no evidence is found[6] of the actual prohibition of marriage to the higher orders of the ministry until the very end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. At that period a diversity of practice clearly existed in the Church; we find excommunication denounced against any bishop, presbyter, or deacon who should put away his wife under pretence of living a more ascetic life[1]; while of those who were unmarried when ordained, only readers and choristers were permitted to marry[2]; again, it is laid down that bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other clerks engaged in the work of the ministry should not dwell with their wives[3]. A special provision was made by the council of Ancyra[4] for the case of deacons. If a deacon on ordination declared that he could not engage to lead a life of continence, he was permitted to marry; but if he was ordained without any such declaration, he was to be degraded from his office if he afterwards married. It is evident however that there was at this time no absolute and universal prohibition of marriage to the clergy, for several distinguished clerics of the fourth and later centuries are known to have been married; nor does that state seem in their case to have been regarded as in any way involving disgrace or inferiority.

---

[1] *Constt. Apost.* VIII. cc. 16—22.

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* 55, c. 8.

[3] H. C. Lea, *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (Philadelphia, 1869); J. A. and A. Theiner, *Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit.*

[4] 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tertullian, *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 11.

[5] Origen, *in Lucam*, Hom. 17, p. 953.

[6] The passage inserted by Rigault's MS. in Tertullian, *De Exhort. Cast.* c. 10, even if genuine, is very far from proving that the church of the second century enjoined the celibacy of the clergy.

Maintenance of the Clergy.

We find in the earliest age of the Church no distinct ordinance as to the maintenance of its ministers; no doubt many, like St Paul, lived by the labour of their hands; yet the great principle, that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that those who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, was always admitted; they who waited at the altar became partakers of the offerings of the faithful at the altar; and these free-will offerings soon came to be regarded as the equivalents for the tithes of the Mosaic law[5]. As the clergy were more and more withdrawn from all participation in secular affairs[6], it became more and more necessary to provide them an independent subsistence.

Connexion of Churches.

It is evident from the very nature of the Church of Christ that the church of any one city could not remain in loveless isolation from other churches; the community of life, discipline, and doctrine, which are inherent in the very conception of the church, forbade it. As individuals formed a particular church, so all the churches taken together formed the Catholic Church; and as the bishop with his presbyters formed the council of a particular community, so an assembly of bishops formed the council of a district or province. Synods were a natural product of the life of the church; they were the principal manifestations of its unity both in doctrine and discipline; it was their work to concert common action for the resisting of heresy, the healing of schism, the restoration of discipline. The bishop seems in all cases to have represented his church at these assemblies; as each bishop was the centre of unity in his own church, so the assembled bishops represented[2] the unity of a larger portion of the church universal. Of *general* councils we of course hear nothing until the cessation of persecution permitted the assembling of prelates from every quarter of the Roman world.

---

[1] *Can. Apost.* 5.

[2] *Ib.* 26; compare *Conc. Neo-Cæsar.* (A.D. 314) c. 1.

[3] *Conc. Eliber.* c. 33; *Arelat.* c. 6.

[4] Can. 10.

[5] Cyprian, *Epist.* 1, c. 1.

[6] *Can. Apost.* 6.

Synods[1].

Composition of Synods.

But though bishops were the ordinary and indispensable members of a synod, yet presbyters also took part in their deliberations. In Cappadocia, seniors and presidents[3] assembled every year to arrange matters of common concern. At the synod of Antioch, it was the presbyter Malchion who refuted Paul of Samosata, and in the synodal letter the presbyters Malchion and Lucius are named[4] expressly, while several of the bishops are not. The regular constitution of a council at the beginning of the fourth century was probably that described in the preamble to the canons of Elvira[5]; "when the bishops had taken their seats, twenty-six presbyters also sitting with them, and the deacons and the whole commonalty (plebs) standing by; the bishops said"...The canons run in the name of the bishops, though the presbyters no doubt took part in

---

[1] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Bd. I. (tr. in Clark's *Theol. Library*); A. W. Haddan, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Council* (I. 473 ff.).

[2] The word "repræsentatio" is Tertullian's (*De Jejuniis*, c. 13). It seems probable, on the whole, that his "concilia ex universis ecclesiis" were not Montanistic.

[3] "Seniores et præpositi" (Firmilian to Cyprian, Cypr. *Epist.* 75, c. 4). It is not quite certain here that "seniores" are identical with "presbyteri."

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 30; Routh's *Reliquiæ*, III. 287 ff.

[5] See the various readings in Bruns's *Canones*, II. 1.

Chap. VII.

the deliberations, and the deacons and people had perhaps the same kind of tumultuary influence as the commons at an English witenagemot.

Precedence of Bishops.

When it became usual for the bishops of neighbouring churches to meet for deliberation on matters of common interest, it was necessary that some one of their number should have the power both of summoning assemblies and of presiding in them. Thus, although in spiritual powers all bishops were equal, a certain precedence in dignity came to be assigned to the occupants of certain ancient and important sees. It is probable indeed that a certain subordination among churches existed from the first. As in every city where Jews were found in large numbers, its sanhedrin exercised authority over the councils of the smaller synagogues in the neighbourhood; so, when the faith of Christ came to be preached—and it was first preached by preference in cities containing Jewish communities—a presbytery with its bishop was formed from the converts[1], which naturally took the oversight of smaller neighbouring communities in much the same way that the Jewish presbytery had done that of its dependents. In some cases the senior bishop, without reference to his see, presided in councils; but generally the bishop of the chief town of a province—where also the church generally claimed an apostle or apostolic man as its founder—summoned and presided in assemblies, and exercised a vague authority over his comprovincial bishops. The great metropolitan sees were the following.

Jewish Organization.

Metropolitans[2].

Jerusalem.

Jerusalem itself, blessed with the presidency of St James and afterwards of others of the same family, had a natural preeminence among Jewish-Christian churches[3]. But when, after the rebellion in the time of Hadrian, the purely Gentile town of Ælia Capitolina rose upon the ruins of the sacred city[4], its prerogative passed to Cæsarea, the political capital of Palestine, where the church was at any rate of apostolic origin, and illustrious from the memory of St Peter and of St Philip the Evangelist. In Syria and the neighbouring countries the pre-eminence of

Cæsarea.

---

[1] The parallelism of Jewish and Christian organization is noticed by Döllinger, *Handbuch*, I. 354.

[2] *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Metropolitan.*

[3] Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* III. 32. 6.

[4] See p. 51.

Antioch.

Alexandria.

Antioch, the first meeting-point of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, was long acknowledged. Alexandria[1] rose into prominence at a somewhat later period. Here was found the most numerous and important Jewish community existing beyond the limits of Palestine; and here too was formed in the course of the first two centuries a Christian church so important that its bishop ranked first among the bishops of the East, though it was not of the very highest antiquity, nor founded by an Apostle. The authority of this church extended itself—like that of the Sanhedrin in the same place—over the communities in the Cyrenaica and in Libya, though Cyrene and Libya-Mareotis belonged politically to the province of Africa and not to Egypt; a proof that the ecclesiastical was not always identical with the political province.

Rome.

Rome had probably a larger Jewish population than any other city of the West, and here too a Christian church was formed, if not by an Apostle, at least in the lifetime of many Apostles. It was inevitable that the church in the capital of the world, when it came to be an important body, should exercise a dominant authority over the churches of the neighbouring cities. Such was in fact the case, though its predominance was not at once recognized.

St James.

The first and natural centre of the church on earth was of course Jerusalem, where the Holy Spirit was first given; hence Jewish-Christian fiction in the second century gives to St James the Lord's brother the title of "bishop of bishops[2]," and regards him as the centre of ecclesiastical unity. But on the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, the central power of Christendom passed, by a kind of natural affinity, to the middle point of the political world, Rome; henceforth, St Peter and not St James is the central figure with the Christians of the Hebrew faction. It is again in Judaizing fiction that St Peter—the first-fruits of the Lord as the primæval bishops were of the apostles—is represented as possessing supreme authority

St Peter in the Clementines.

---

[1] Eutychius of Alexandria, *Ecclesiæ suæ Origines*, from the Arabic, in Seldeni *Opera*, II. 410; J. M. Neale, *Hist. of the Eastern Ch., Patriarchate of Alexandria*, Bk. I.

[2] Clementine *Epist. ad Jacobum*, "Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ." Compare *Hom.* III. 62.

in the Roman church, and handing on the privileges of his cathedra to his faithful disciple Clement[1]. Yet Dionysius of Corinth, who had the greatest respect for the Roman See, knows nothing of the See of St Peter, but refers the foundation of the Roman church to St Paul and St Peter in common[2]. Tertullian ranks Rome, with Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica and Ephesus, among the apostolic sees[3], and agrees with the Clementines in regarding St Peter as first bishop of Rome and as having ordained Clement as his successor[4]; yet he treats with the utmost scorn the claim of the "pontifex maximus" to be a bishop of bishops, or by his own authority to grant remission of penalties for certain offences[5]. Irenæus, in an interesting passage[6], refers to the ancient and glorious Roman see as the acknowledged preserver of the traditions derived from the two great apostles its founders, and therefore having a natural precedence[7] among the churches. Cyprian, who regards Rome as certainly the see of Peter and the centre of unity in the church[8], urges that the gift of the Lord to St Peter was identically the same as that to all the Apostles; if it was given to one in token of its unity, it was given to many in token of its variety[9]; all bishops alike are successors of St Peter[10]; for one bishop to claim an episcopate over his brother bishops is simple tyranny[11].

Irenæus.

Cyprian.

Causes of Roman Primacy.

The claim of Rome to be "cathedra Petri" was acknowledged from the end of the second century. But it is needless to seek the grounds of the Roman primacy in a supposed supremacy of St Peter and a supposed commission of St Peter to those who should occupy the Roman see. The causes which really led to the pre-eminence of the Roman church and its bishop are sufficiently obvious.

---

[1] *Epist. ad Jac.* 2. On the Papal claims see I. Barrow, *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy;* L. E. Dupin, *De Primatu Romani Pontificis*, in his *De Ant. Ecclesiæ Disciplina;* J. Bass Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Pope;* G. Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, vol. v.; J. Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. i.; J. F. von Schulte, *Concilien, Päpste, und Bischöfe;* T. W. Allies, *per Crucem ad Lucem*, vol. ii. p. 247 ff.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25. 8.

[3] *De Præscript.* c. 36.

[4] *Ib.* c. 32.

[5] *De Pudicitia*, c. 1.

[6] *Hæres.* iii. 3. 2.

[7] Potior [al. potentior] principalitas.

[8] *Epist.* 59, c. 14; 55, c. 8.

[9] *De Unit. Eccl.* c. 4.

[10] *Epist.* 33, c. 1.

[11] *Concil. Carthag.* in Cyprian, p. 436 (ed. Hartel).

All the roads in the world led to Rome, all nations and sects were represented there; and probably those obscure bishops of Rome in the second century had more of the governing instinct than their more literary and contemplative brethren in the East. The majesty of the eternal city could not fail to add dignity to its bishop. It was not, so far as we can now trace, the greatness of particular bishops which raised the church of Rome to its pre-eminence; if there were among them saints and martyrs, there were also some whose name bears no good odour; but all were eager for Roman interests. Callistus was probably a man of doubtful character[1], but he at least strengthened the position of the episcopate by the declaration, that a bishop could in no case be deposed by the presbytery, not even in case of mortal sin. If Marcellinus offered incense to idols, the Roman legend turns even his fall to account, saying that it was only by his own voice that he was condemned, for "the first see is judged by no man[2]." In spite of individual failures, the Roman church, like the Roman nation, steadily pursued its aim of ruling the peoples. It gained its end, so far as the western churches are concerned, yet not without many struggles. Its claim to settle controversy by an authoritative decision was vehemently rejected in the second and third centuries by the Asiatic and the African churches, and it was not until political causes powerfully co-operated with spiritual that the power of the great Roman patriarchate was consolidated. Within the first three centuries it exercised authority over the "suburbicarian" provinces in Central and Southern Italy, and a vague influence over the churches of southern Gaul, to which bishops were sent from Rome[3].

---

[1] See p. 81.

[2] *Roman Breviary*, Apr. 26, Lect. v; Hardouin, *Concilia*, I. 217.

[3] Cyprian, *Epist.* 68; compare Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* I. 28.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH.

CHRISTIAN LIFE[1].

Gifts of the Spirit.

1. We might express the great difference between the life of Christians and that of the world around them by saying that within the Church were special gifts of the Holy Spirit. Outward signs of the presence of the Spirit—prophecy, healing of disease, casting out of demons—were still recognized in the first three centuries[2]. Tertullian[3] speaks as if it were an every-day matter for a Christian to compel a demon to disclose himself and quit the afflicted person. And not less certain signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit were seen in the love and beneficence of the brethren towards each other.

Family Life.

Family life received a new sacredness. Children were looked upon as a precious trust, to be trained in the chastening of the Lord for a higher life.

Marriage.

Husband and wife who were heirs together of the grace of life were drawn together in a closer bond. Tertullian[4] draws a charming picture of the serene happiness of a wedded pair who have all their thoughts in common; who share one hope and one service of God; who pray together, fast together, and approach together the Table of the Lord. Marriage was regarded as indissoluble, except in case of adultery[1]. Nay, in the view of some even death itself did not dissolve it, and second marriage was, to such, only respectable adultery[2]. Doubts were early raised whether marriage was permitted to the clergy[3]. Marriages between Christians and heathens were of course looked upon with disfavour[4]. The poor, widows and orphans, those who were sick or in prison, and friendless Christian strangers, were the charge of the community. For these contributions were made at the celebration of the Eucharist[5]. Ladies visited the poor at their own homes[6]. Large sums were given for the redemption of captives[7]. Never was the helpfulness and the courage in the presence of danger which distinguished the brotherhood more marked than in time of pestilence. While pagans deserted their nearest kindred, or cast them half-dead into the streets, Christians gave the utmost care to the sick and the dead, Christian or pagan, regardless of the deadly atmosphere which they breathed[8]. The Christian regarded his whole life as guarded by Christ and loved the sign of His Cross[9].

---

[1] C. Schmidt, *La Société Civile et sa Transformation par le Christianisme*, tr. by Mary Thorpe, under the title *Social Results of Early Christianity*, Lond., 1885; F. Münter, *die Christin im Heidn. Hause:* C. C. J. Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, vol. 3; C. J. Hefele, *Ueber den Rigorismus in dem Leben der alten Christen* (in his *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte* u. s. w. I. 16 ff.); W.E.H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol. 2; M. Carrière, *Die Kunst in Zusammenhang der Culturentwickelung*, vol. 3; E. de Pressensé, *Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church*, from the French by A. Harwood-Holmden.

[2] Irenæus II. 32, 4. 5; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 7.

[3] *Ad Scapulam* 2, 4; *Apol.* 23; cf. Justin M. *Apol.* II. 8; *Trypho* 85; Origen *c. Cels.* III. p. 133 sp.

[4] *Ad Uxorem* II. 9. Compare Clement *Strom.* III. 10.

Christians lived in the world as not of the world. They were serious while much of the world around them was frivolous. Many of the amusements and occupations of paganism seemed incompatible with a life vowed to God. The pagan divinities seemed to them evil demons[10], and their votaries given over to a strong delusion. And as splendid dress and decorative art were largely in the service of pagan worship, they looked with suspicion and dislike upon all artificial attractions. Every trade which ministered to idolatry was of course forbidden; and some regarded the disguises of a stage-player as a kind of deceit and fraud not permitted to true worshippers[11]. Such teachers also inveighed against elegance and attractiveness in women's dress as unworthy of those who should be devoted to Christ[12]. And even without such admonition, in time of persecution, the realities of life were too absorbing to permit much attention to be given to its ornamentation. Civic life was so interwoven with pagan worship, so many common observances implied a recognition of some deity, that Christian life in the midst of heathenism was full of pitfalls. It was doubted by some whether it was lawful to wear a garland on the head[1], or to wreathe the door posts, on occasions of public festivity. Already in the time of St Paul perplexity arose from the fact that portions of the victims offered in sacrifice were publicly sold at the shambles, and this must have continued so long as pagan sacrifices were tolerated. Some doubted whether it was lawful for a Christian to serve in the Roman armies, under standards which implied a deification of the emperor[2]. Those who served could however point to the examples of the centurion at Capernaum and of Cornelius, who are not recorded to have left their military profession.

---

[1] Jerome, *Epist.* 30, c. 1.

[2] Athenagoras, *Legat.* 33.

[3] Above, p. 135.

[4] Tertullian, *Ad Uxorem*, II. 3, 4.

[5] Justin M. *Apol.* I. 67.

[6] Tertull. *Ad Uxor.* II. 4, 8.

[7] Cyprian, *Epist.* 62.

[8] Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*, c. 12; Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 22.

[9] Tertullian, *de Cor. Militis* 3.

[10] Id. *De Idolol.* 20; Origen *c. Cels.* bk. VII., p. 378, sp.

[11] Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 23.

[12] Id. *De Cultu Feminarum*, II. 2.

Asceticism.

2. The horror which the Christian felt towards the Pagan world expressed itself in an extreme form in the rigorous life which was known as Asceticism[3]; a life, that is, of self-denial such as was not expected from the ordinary Christian. Ascetics were distinguished by their withdrawing—so far as might be—from the world, and devoting themselves to prayer and meditation on holy things; by their scanty diet and abstinence from marriage. To such was assigned a special rank in the house of prayer[4]. As early as the latter half of the second century we find both men and women devoting themselves to life-long celibacy in the hope of nearer communion with God[5]. The apologist Tatian was a leader of those who from their severe self-control were called Encratites[6]; and Hieracas[7], a pupil of Origen and in many ways a distinguished man, held

Encratites.

---

[1] Tertullian, *De Corona Militis.*

[2] Justin M. *Apol.* I. 14; Athenagoras, *Leg.* c. 35; Tertullian, *De Idolol.* c. 19; *De Cor. Mil.* cc. 10, 11; Origen, *c. Cels.* v. 33; VII. 26; VIII. 73. It is certain however that in fact many Christians served; see Tertullian, *Apol.* 37, 42; Euseb. *H. E.* VIII. 4; x. 8; and the story of the Thundering Legion, Tert. *ad Scap.* 4; see p. 41 of this volume, and *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *War.*

[3] Bingham's *Antiq.* Bk. VII.; I. Gregory Smith, in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. v.

[4] *Constt. Apost.* VIII. 13. 4.

[5] Athenagoras, *Legatio* 33.

[6] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 47.

[7] See above, p. 74; Epiphan. *Hær.* 67. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* II. 515 (Torrey's Tr.).

Perpetual Chastity.

principles hardly less rigid. Under the influence of such principles, women lived unmarried under vows, not yet absolutely perpetual[1]. Some, in their exaltation, were led to attempt that which is above nature, living, while vowed to continence, in the same house and in the utmost familiarity with men bound by similar vows[2]. Such arrogant purity, which was found to have evil consequences, was forbidden by a definite enactment in the beginning of the fourth century[3]. This appreciation of virginity not unnaturally led to depreciation of marriage, to which no doubt some of the coarse associations of heathenism still clung. So much coarseness in truth was found in pagan marriage-feasts that Cyprian[4] thought them no fit scenes for the presence of a disciple of Christ.

HERMITS[5].

3. The feeling of the vanity of earthly things and of the need of self-discipline and self-mortification combined with horror of the pagan world to drive enthusiastic devotees into the desert. Many souls in all ages of Christianity have felt the deep longing to withdraw from the vain and unsatisfying pleasures and pomps of the world into the deep unbroken solitude in which communion with God seems more possible. The first great saint of the desert—the first, that is, who made a great impression on the world—was Antonius, whom we commonly know as St Anthony[6]. Born near Memphis in the middle of the third century, he was impelled by the hearing of the gospel precepts, "Sell all that thou hast" and "Take no thought for the morrow," to divest himself of all his worldly wealth. He visited some who were already hermits, to learn their manner of life, and soon after fixed his dwelling in the midst of barren hills, about a day's journey

St Anthony.

---

[1] To leave this state after profession was however a scandal (*Conc. Ancyr.* 19).

[2] Hermæ *Pastor*, Sim. IX. 11; Tert. *De Jejuniis* 17; Cyprian, *Epist.* 4; 13, § 5; *Conc. Elib.* c. 27; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 47. 3.

[3] *Conc. Ancyr.* c. 19 (according to the versions of Dionysius and Isidore) and *Conc. Nicæ.* c. 3.

[4] *De Habitu Virginum*, c. 18.

[5] Heribert Rosweyd, *Vitæ Patrum, sive Historiæ Eremiticæ Libri X.*; J. C. W. Augusti, *Handbuch der Christlichen Archäologie*, I. 154 ff., 418 ff.; I. Gregory Smith in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s. v.

[6] Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii*; Socrates, *H.E.* I. 21; Sozomen I. 13; Jerome, *Catal.* 88. The authenticity of the first-named has been questioned by Weingarten (*Der Ursprung des Mönchthums*) but on weak grounds. See Hase, *K-Gesch. auf Grundlage Akadem. Vorlesungen*, Th. 1, p. 381, and *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theol.* 1880, Hft. 3.

from the Red Sea, in a ruined tower, the entrance to which he blocked up with stones. There he remained for many a year, seeing no human countenance, unless it were that of a friend who twice a year brought him a supply of bread. It was in this solitude that he experienced the temptations which have become famous. Outraged nature rose against him, and filled his imagination, sometimes with horrible forms of demons, sometimes with alluring phantoms of beautiful women. The tidings of the persecution of Maximin lured him from his retreat to Alexandria, where the Alexandrians looked with wonder on the strange form from the desert. He encouraged confessors before the judge and ministered to the saints in prison, but found not the martyr's crown. His visit to the haunts of men however spread abroad his fame, and his desert became populous with disciples, on whom he enjoined the great duties of prayer and work. Here we see the beginning of the cœnobium, the common life of ascetics, afterwards so largely developed. He himself continued to lead a life of watchings and fastings, hardly consenting to take sufficient food to sustain life. He was unlearned, but wise with long experience of the human heart. His saying—"As the demons find us, so they behave towards us, and according to the thoughts which are in us they direct their assaults"—shows that he was no brain-sick visionary. At his word the sick were sometimes healed and demons driven out; but he was neither elated when God heard his prayer, nor angry when his prayer was not answered; in all things he praised the Lord. A true physician of the soul, he reconciled enemies and comforted mourners. In the midst of this poverty which made many rich it was made known to him where he would find one who was more perfect than himself. Paul[1] of Thebes had dwelt since the persecution of Decius in a cave of the desert, where a palm-tree gave him shade, clothing, and food. For ninety years he had been lost to men, and was found by Anthony as he lay at the point of death. As his own end drew near, he withdrew from the veneration and the disquiet of human kind further into the desert, and only reappeared occasionally to defend the faith or to protect the oppressed. He departed at last in extreme old age, leaving behind him the fame of a pure and simple character, and a great posterity in the numerous army of hermits.

---

[1] Jerome, *Vita Pauli Eremitæ; Opp.* II. 1, ed. Vallarsi.

Disci-pline.

4. The great end and aim of Christian teaching, with regard to man's life among his fellows, is to produce in each man such a condition of heart and mind as will of itself impel him to right conduct. But Christian morality has also another aspect. There is given to the Church, considered as a theocratic community, a code specially revealed, and sanctioned by glorious promises and terrible penalties. This code has to be enforced and the purity of the society guarded. Hence within the Church the great problems of morality tended to assume a juristic aspect. The heads of the community are not merely teachers of morality or ministrants in sacred things, but also jurists administering a code[1], determining what censure or penalty should be inflicted in particular cases. The great penalty was the exclusion of offenders for a longer or shorter period from the privileges of membership; and these privileges could only be regained by a long process of prayer, fasting, and humiliation—a process comprehended under the one word "penitence"—together with public confession of sin in the midst of the congregation[2]. Excommunication, with its consequences, became in fact the great earthly sanction of the moral law. The judgement on such cases was committed to the presbyters under the presidency of their bishop; but, as is evident from the history of the Church, the bishops exercised a dominant influence, and were held responsible for the severity or laxity of the proceedings. The germ of the code which guided the decisions of the ecclesiastical judge was found in the commands of the Lord Himself and in the Decalogue. With regard to other precepts of the Mosaic Law, the early Church does not seem to have laid down any definite principle by which commands of perpetual obligation might be distinguished from those which were merely national

Excommunication.

Penitence. Confession.

---

[1] H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of the History of Ethics*, c. III. § 2.

[2] J. Morinus, *De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ;* Jas. Ussher, *Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit* (*Works* III. 90, ed. Dublin 1847 ff.); N. Marshall, *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church;* G. Mead, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. *Exomologesis* and *Penitence*.

and temporary. There were, for instance, different opinions as to the necessity of abstaining from things strangled and from blood[1]. In the Church, as in other societies, circumstances arose which were not explicitly provided for by the law, and decisions of Churches or bishops from time to time enlarged the scope of old precepts. Hence there was formed a mass of traditional or "common" law, which was often in fact new while it claimed to be old, and which passed current under venerable names. A collection of such precepts is found in the "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles,"[2] in the "Ordinances of the Holy Apostles"[3] which are derived from it, and in the so-called "Apostolical Constitutions"[4] and "Canons of the Holy Apostles."[5] The "Constitutions" consist of eight books, of which the first six clearly reflect the customs and practices of the Eastern Church of the first three centuries, the seventh is founded upon the "Ordinances," the eighth, though it may contain matter belonging to an earlier period, embodies the ritual of the middle of the fourth century, and has been thought to exhibit traces of Arianism. The Canons which bear the name of the Apostles[6] are a collection of precepts from the Constitutions, or from the Acts of various synods up to the fourth century. It may be observed, that although these collections bear the names of Apostles or Apostolic men, they were never placed by the ancient Church on an equality with Scripture.

---

[1] Tertullian, *Apol.* 9. The Western Church in general did not observe this prohibition, while the Eastern retained it.

[2] First published by Philotheos Bryennios, from a MS of the year 1056, at Constantinople in 1883. Edited by De Romestin, Spence, P. Schaff, A. Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. II., pts 1 and 2), and others.

[3] *Διαταγαὶ* or *Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων*; in Harnack u. s. p. 225 ff.

[4] See O. Krabbe, *Ueber den Ursprung und den Inhalt der Apost. Constt.*; J. S. von Drey, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constt. u. Kanonen der Apostel;* Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, vol. I.; B. Shaw, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* 119 ff. There is a convenient edition by Ueltzen.

[5] W. Beveridge, *Συνοδικὸν sive Pandectæ Canonum* I. 1 ff., and Cotelerii *Patres Apostolici*, I. 424 ff.; O. Krabbe, *De Cod. Canon. qui Apostol. dicuntur;* C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I., Appendix (1st Edn); De Lagarde, *Reliquiæ Juris Can. Ant.;* B. Shaw, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 110 ff.

[6] The whole of these Canons, 85 in number, were inserted by Joannes Scholasticus in his *Nomocanon* in the middle of the sixth century (Justelli, *Biblioth. Juris Ant.* II. 1 ff.), and received as of authority by the Trullan Council (c. 2) at the end of the seventh. The Roman Church rejects them as apocryphal (*Corpus J. Can.*, *Decreti* P. I., Dist. XV., c. 3, § 64; decree attributed to Gelasius).

Callistus, c. 220-235.

Novatianus, 251.

Kathari.

As may readily be supposed, the administration of this system of penalties was by no means free from difficulty. Penitents were readmitted to communion in one Church with much more facility than in another. One of the grounds for the attack of Hippolytus on Callistus[1], bishop of Rome, was his excessive readiness to restore to communion all manner of sinners, so as to lower the standard of Christian holiness. Hippolytus appears to have been chosen anti-bishop by the party discontented with the mild rule of Callistus. And again, at a later period, when Cornelius declined to make heavy the yoke which since the time of Callistus had been light, one of his presbyters, Novatianus[2], rose up against him, and was made the bishop of an opposition. This was a man of considerable culture, of ascetic life and nervous temperament, who had received benefit from the prayers of a Christian exorcist, and so been won for Christianity. Like Justin Martyr, he was reputed a philosopher. He laid down the principle, that the first duty of ecclesiastical rulers was to preserve the Church as a pure society of saints or "Kathari;" hence, that one who by sin had separated himself from God and been excluded from the Church could never be received back into it; though he exhorted the fallen to repentance even without hope of returning to the Church[3]. The Novatianists refused communion with the Catholic Church, and baptized anew those who came over to them from Catholicism. Novatianus died as a martyr under Valerian, but the schism perpetuated itself for some generations. One of the Novatianist bishops was Acesius, whom at the Council of Nicæa Constantine bade to plant a ladder and go up into heaven by himself[4].

Schism of Felicissimus, 250.

Meantime, a schism had arisen on opposite grounds at Carthage. In the severity of persecution, there were some who had delivered up to the pagans their copies of Holy

---

[1] See p. 81.

[2] Cyprian, *Epistt.* 44—48 (ed. Hartel); the Letter of Cornelius to Fabius (Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 43; Routh's *Rell.* III. 20) where the schismatic is called Νοουάτος; those of Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatianus (Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 45), and to Dionysius of Rome (*Ib.* VII. 8).

[3] Cyprian, *Epist.* 55, c. 28.

[4] Socrates, *H. E.* I. 10. See Stanley, *Eastern Ch.* 175.

Scripture (*traditores*), some who had actually sacrificed to idols (*lapsi*), and some who, without sacrificing, had obtained from the magistrates, by favour or bribery, certificates[1] of having sacrificed (*libellatici*). When such offenders desired to be restored to the Church, it became a pressing question how they—especially the "lapsed" who had actually sacrificed—should be dealt with. Were they to be readmitted to the Church, and, if so, on what conditions? At Carthage Cyprian[2] refused to receive at once men who had denied their Lord, even though some who had suffered in the persecution—"confessors," as they were now called—desired them to be readmitted, giving them certificates of reconciliation (*libelli pacis*). Thus there arose a discontented party, composed of the aggrieved confessors, those who were dissatisfied with Cyprian's administration, and the lapsed who were eager to be received again into communion. These, with Novatus at their head, rebelled against Cyprian as being unworthy, in consequence of his flight during the persecution, to rule over men who had endured torture with heroic constancy. They chose a deacon of their own, one Felicissimus, and set up Fortunatus, one of their adherents, as bishop of their party[3]. Cyprian's severe views unfortunately set him at variance with the milder bishop of Rome. When able to hold a synod, he so far modified his decree as not to hand over the lapsed to despair, but to readmit them to communion, after long penitence, in prospect of death[4]. Libellatici were at once readmitted[5]. And in the troublous time when his diocese suffered from war and pestilence, he acknowledged works of mercy as an atonement for all sin[6]. Novatus, who had been a champion of the laxer rule at Carthage, found his way to Rome, where he became an adherent of the stricter party of Novatianus, and did much to encourage the schism.

Novatus, 250.

Fortunatus.

Meletian Schism, 306.

If we may trust the account of Epiphanius[7], the schism of Meletius in Egypt was of the same kind as that of Novatianus in Rome. According to him, during the persecution of Diocletian, many Christians who had denied their Lord entreated mercy and forgiveness. Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, who was himself in prison with most of his brethren, was inclined to gentle courses, and would have granted communion to such of the lapsed as were ready to do penance for their fault. Meletius, however, bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebaid, who was also a prisoner, opposed this, and would at any rate defer the readmission of the penitents until the persecution should be over. A majority of the bishops took his part. Soon after this Peter died in consequence of the torture which he had endured, and Meletius was sentenced to slavery in the mines. On his way however to his place of banishment he ordained several presbyters and deacons, and the schism which thus arose was still dangerous at the time of the Council of Nicæa. Meletius on the cessation of persecution had returned to Egypt.

---

[1] On these *Libelli*, see E. W. Benson in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. v.

[2] See p. 77.

[3] Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, and *Epist.* 41, 42, 43, 45, 59.

[4] Id. *Epist.* 57. 1; 55. 6.

[5] *Epist.* 55. 14.

[6] Cypr. *De Opere et Eleemosynis.*

[7] *Hæres.* 68. Other accounts are found in the letters of four Egyptian bishops to Meletius, with an anonymous Appendix, and of Peter himself (in Routh's *Reliquiæ*, IV. 91 ff.); and in Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian.* cc. 11, 59, *Epist. ad Episc. Aegypti*, cc. 22, 23, who is followed

CEREMONIES.

Catechumens.

5. The beginning of Christian life was Baptism. Those adults who desired to be admitted through the laver of regeneration into the Body of Christ had to submit to a course of instruction, during which they were called Catechumens[1], and were not allowed to be present at the celebration of Holy Communion. In primitive times, this instruction seems to have been of a practical kind, impressing on the candidate the great distinction between the way of life and the way of death[2]. The catechumenate lasted ordinarily, at the end of the third century, two years, or even three, though it might be shortened in special cases[3]. In the times immediately succeeding the apostolic, we find that the candidate, after instruction, was taken to some place where there was water—if possible,

Baptismal Rites[4].

---

in the main by Socrates, *H. E.* I. 6, p. 15 and Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 9, p. 31.

[1] J. Bingham, *Antiq.* Bk X.; E. H. Plumptre, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v.

[2] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, cc. 1—6.

[3] *Conc. Elib.* c. 42; *Constt. Apost.* VIII. 32. 9.

[4] F. U. Calixtus, *De Antiq. circa Baptismum Ritibus*; A. van Dale, *Hist. Baptismorum Hebr. et Christ.*; J. G. Walch, *De Rit. Baptism. Sæc.* II.; J. Bingham, *Antiq.* Bk XI.; J. W. F. Höfling, *Das Sacrament der Taufe*; F. Probst, *Sacramente und Sacramentalien in den drei ersten Christlichen Jahrhunderten*, p. 97 ff.; W. B. Marriott in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Baptism.*

Interrogations. Renunciations. Exorcism. Benediction of Water. Unction. Milk and Honey. Imposition of Hands. Baptism of Infants. Sponsors.

to a running stream—both the baptized and the baptizer fasting, and there plunged into the water in the name of the Holy Trinity. Warm water might be used in case of necessity, and it was sufficient, when circumstances admitted of nothing else, to pour water thrice on the head of the candidate[1]. Later, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, we find a more elaborate ritual. The candidate was questioned as to his faith[2]; he renounced the devil and his pomps[3], and was exorcised to free him from his power[4]; the water was blessed by the bishop[5]; before baptism, which took place by trine immersion or affusion in the name of the Holy Trinity, he was anointed, and again on leaving the water[6], when he was also given to taste of milk and honey[7]; and immediately afterwards he received imposition of hands with prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit[8]. This laying on of hands, being in the West reserved to the bishop, soon became a separate rite[9]. That in early times infants were baptized[10], in accordance with the principle laid down by Irenæus[11], is evident from Tertullian's[12] indignant remonstrance. Origen[13] in the third century found infant-baptism an immemorial custom, held to be Apostolic. Sponsors[14] were held necessary both for adults and infants, in the first case as guarantees of the honest intention of the candidate, in the second to give additional security that the children should be brought up as Christians.

Baptism of Blood.

If one who had professed his readiness to receive baptism died the martyr's death without having actually passed through the purifying flood, the "baptism of blood" was always held to be at least equivalent to that of water. Both kinds were typified in the blood and water which flowed from the Lord's wounded side[1]; those who suffer martyrdom unbaptized share in the blessing of the penitent robber[2].

---

[1] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, c. 7; Justin M. *Apol.* I. c. 61. Compare Cyprian *Epist.* 68, c. 12.

[2] Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* 3; Cyprian *Epist.* 70, c. 2. See above, p. 114.

[3] Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 3.

[4] This seems to be implied in the account of the Council of Carthage of A.D. 256; Cyprian, *Opp.* I. 435, ed. Hartel.

[5] Cyprian, *Epist.* 70, c. 1.

[6] *Constt. Apost.* III. 16; VII. 22; Tert. *De Baptismo*, 7.

[7] Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 3.

[8] Id. *De Baptismo*, c. 8.

[9] Cyprian (*Epist.* 72, c. 1) speaks of baptism and laying on of hands as "sacramentum utrumque." See also *Conc. Elib.* c. 77.

[10] W. Wall, *History of Infant-Baptism;* J. G. Walch, *Historia Pædobaptismi* in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, p. 487. C. Taylor, *Tracts* (London, 1815).

[11] *c. Hæres.* II. 22. 4.

[12] *De Baptismo*, 18. Compare Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 6.

[13] *In Levit.* Hom. 8, *Opp.* II. 230; *in Lucam.* Hom. 14, *Opp.* III. 948.

[14] Tert. u. s.; *Constt. Apost.* III. 16; VIII. 32; the two latter passages speak of *deacons* as ὑπόδοχοι or μάρτυρες.

Heretical Baptism.

A.D. 218—222.

230—235.

Towards the end of the second century Tertullian[3] raised the question, whether baptism conferred by heretics was valid, and answered it in the negative. Agrippinus[4], bishop of Carthage, agreed with him, and baptized anew Montanists who came over to the Church. The same practice prevailed in Asia Minor, Alexandria, and many other Eastern Churches, and was sanctioned by a series of provincial synods at Carthage, Iconium, and Synnada. The ancient practice of the Roman Church was different; in Rome the heretic who returned to the Church, if he had been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, was admitted to communion by simple imposition of hands[5], as penitents were. The Churches of Carthage and Rome were brought into contact in consequence of their common concern with Novatianism, and each was offended at the other's practice.

Stephen.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, was not disposed to tolerate a custom which varied from his own, and threatened to withdraw from communion with the African and Asiatic Churches if they persisted in their offence. An absolute breach was however prevented by the mediation of Dionysius of Alexandria[6].

Cyprian.

But Cyprian was unable to reconcile the Roman principles with his conception of the Catholic Church. There could be no true baptism outside the Church, for heretics could not confer gifts of the Spirit which they did not themselves possess[7]. Against the authority of the Roman see, he protested that this was not a matter to be settled by tradition, but by reason[8]; nor was one bishop to lord it over another, since all were partakers of a like grace. Stephen thereupon refused to receive the legates of Cyprian in Rome, and withdrew

---

[1] Tert. *De Baptismo*, 16.

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* 73, c. 22.

[3] *De Baptismo*, 15. Compare Clement, *Strom.* I. 19. 96.

[4] Cyprian, *Epist.* 71, c. 4; 72, c. 3.

[5] Cypr. *Epist.* 74, cc. 1 and 2; Eusebius, *H. E.* VII. 2.

[6] Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 5.

[7] *De Eccl. Unitate*, 11; *Epistt.* 69, c. 1; 70, cc. 2 and 3; 73; (Firmilian) 75, c. 7.

[8] "Non est de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum." *Epist.* 71, c. 3.

Council of Carthage, A.D. 256.

from communion with him and his Church. He even went so far as to call Cyprian a false Christ, a false prophet, a deceitful worker[1]. A council of the African province in the year 256, under Cyprian's presidency, decided in favour of their ancient custom[2]. The Asiatic Churches generally took the same side, and their metropolitan, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, wrote to Cyprian a formal declaration of their opinion on the matter at issue, containing a strong condemnation of the conduct of the bishop of Rome. The contest was an obstinate one, and outlived both the principal combatants; Stephen suffered martyrdom in 257, and Cyprian in the following year. Meantime the kindly and judicious Dionysius of Alexandria had again intervened, and the persecution under Valerian no doubt turned men's thoughts to more pressing needs. A friendly message from Xystus, Stephen's successor, was brought to Cyprian shortly before his execution[3]. Gradually the Roman practice prevailed. It was sanctioned by a synod at Arles, at which several Numidian bishops were present, in the year 314[4].

Council of Arles, A.D. 314.

Assemblies.

Christians assembled themselves together, mindful of the Lord's promise and the Apostle's warning, to worship God, to strengthen and refresh their own souls, to realize their union with Christ and with each other. These ends they sought especially in the Supper of the Lord or Holy Eucharist. The earliest account remaining to us of this celebration[6] teaches us that believers met on the Lord's Day, when they confessed their sins, and were warned that no one who was at enmity with his brother should approach the feast of love. Over the Cup thanks were given for the holy vine of David, made known to us through Jesus Christ; over the broken Bread, for the life

Holy Eucharist[5].

The "Teaching." c. 120?

---

[1] Firmilian to Cyprian (Cypr. *Epist.* 75, c. 25).

[2] Cypriani *Opp.* I. 435 ff. (ed. Hartel); Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 159 ff.

[3] Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*, c. 14.

[4] c. 8; Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 265.

[5] D. Blondel, *De Eucharistia Vet. Ecclesiæ*; C. M. Pfaff, *De Oblatione Eucharistiæ in Primitiva Eccl. usitata*; P. Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques*, tome I; P. Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. II, pt. 2; R. Rothe, *De Primordiis Cultus Sacri Christianorum* (Bonn 1851); H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. IV, *Prolegomena*; F. Probst, *Liturgie der drei Ersten Christl. Jahrhunderte*; Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 267, s. v. *Canon of the Liturgy*, and I. 412, s. v. *Communion, Holy*.

[6] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, cc. 9, 10, 14.

and knowledge made known to us through Him; and prayer was made that the disciples should be gathered into the Kingdom, even as the scattered grains were made one loaf. After reception, thanks were given for God's Holy Name revealed to us, and for knowledge and faith, for spiritual meat and drink; for immortal life made known to us through the Son; and prayer was made for the perfecting of the Church and the passing away of the present world. The service ended with an invitation to those who were without, and the watch-word Maran atha, "the Lord cometh." From the account of Justin[1], later in age and differing in place from that of the Teaching, we find that, in the Sunday service, portions were read from the "Memoirs of the Apostles"—probably the Gospels—and from the Prophets. The reading was followed by an exhortation from the presiding brother, and then all stood up to pray. After this, bread, and wine mixed with water, were brought, and the president uttered prayer and thanksgiving. Then those present partook, and portions were sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons. Upon this followed the offering of alms, which were deposited with the president to be administered for the benefit of the sick and needy. The "holy kiss" is mentioned in Justin's description of the Eucharist which immediately succeeded a baptism, but not in that of an ordinary Sunday. Both the "Teaching" and Justin speak of the eucharistic service as a "sacrifice[2]." Elsewhere Justin mentions[3] that in the Eucharist thanks were given for our creation and for our redemption through Christ. Irenæus too speaks of the giving of thanks over the elements. "We offer," he says, "unto God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks unto Him for that He bade the earth bring forth these fruits for our sustenance; and...we call forth the Holy Spirit, to declare (or manifest) this sacrifice—even the Bread the Body of Christ and the Cup the Blood of Christ, that they who partake of these copies (*ἀντιτύπων*) may obtain remission of their sins and everlasting life[4]." The intercessions which, according to

Justin Martyr, c. 150.

Irenæus, c. 190.

---

[1] *Apol.* I. 65—67.

[2] *θυσία.* It must be remembered that this word had a wide meaning. Hermas (*Sim.* v. 3. 8) speaks of fasting as a *θυσία*; and Justin (*Trypho*, c. 117) of prayers and thanksgivings as the only perfect and acceptable *θυσίαι*.

[3] *Trypho*, c. 41.

[4] Irenæus, *Fragment* 38; com-

Tertullian, c. 200.

Origen, c. 250.

Cyprian, c. 250.

Tertullian, the faithful made on behalf of emperors and the peace of the empire[1], and for enemies[2]; their prayers for fruitful seasons[3]; their commemoration of and intercession for the dead[4], all probably took place in connexion with the Eucharist[5]. Tertullian implies that a thanksgiving took place in the Church over the elements[6]; and he also mentions that prayers, called "orationes sacrificiorum," followed communion. Consecrated bread was kept in private houses, and tasted before other food[7]. Origen[8] speaks of the "loaves offered with thanksgiving and prayer over the gifts" as having been made, in consequence of the prayer, "a certain body, holy and hallowing those who use it with sound purpose." Cyprian first distinctly puts forth the principle that the Lord's acts in the Last Supper are to be followed by the celebrant in the Eucharist. "Because," he says[9], "we make mention of the Lord's Passion in all our sacrifices...we ought to do no other thing than He did; for Scripture says that so often as we offer the Cup in commemoration of the Lord and His Passion, we should do that which it is evident that He did." We also find from Cyprian that in the Eucharist intercession was made for brethren in affliction[10], whose names were recited[11], as were also the names of those who had made offerings[12] and of the faithful departed[13].

Apostolical Constitutions. c. 300?

A much more developed form of Liturgy than any described in earlier documents is found in the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions[14]. There, bishops, presbyters, and deacons take part in the service; the lections from the Old Testament are intermingled with psalmody; there follow lections from the New Testament, ending with the Gospel; then, silence is kept for a space, followed by exhortation from the presbyters and bishop. This ended, catechumens and penitents depart,

---

pare *Hæres.* IV. 18. 4, 5; V. 22. 3; I. 13. 2.

[1] *Apol.* cc. 30, 39.

[2] *Apol.* c. 31.

[3] *Ad Scapulam* 4.

[4] *De Exhort. Cast.* 11; *De Monogamia* 10.

[5] *Ad Scapulam* 2.

[6] *c. Marcion.* I. 23.

[7] Tertullian, *ad Uxorem* II. 5; Cyprian *De Lapsis* 26.

[8] *c. Celsum,* lib. VIII. p. 399 Spencer.

[9] *Epist.* 63, c. 17.

[10] *Epist.* 61, c. 4.

[11] *Epist.* 62, c. 5.

[12] *Epist.* 16, c. 2.

[13] *Epist.* 1, c. 2.

[14] II. 57. Krabbe, not without reason, suspects this passage to be an interpolation of the fourth century.

and the faithful, turning to the East, the abode of God, the seat of Paradise, stand up and pray. Then follows the oblation of the elements, the warning to those in enmity or in hypocrisy, the kiss, the prayer of the deacon for the Church and the world, the bishop's blessing in the words of the Hebrew priest[1], his prayer, and the sacrifice, followed by communion. The doors are guarded, that no uninitiated person may enter. The eucharistic service, as described here, is summed up in the words, "the reading of the prophets, the proclaiming of the Gospels, the oblation of the sacrifice, the gift of the holy food[2]".

Communion at a meal.

In primitive times the bread was broken and the cup blessed at a meal; at first the meal of a household[3]; afterwards, a more public one to which each brother brought his contribution[4]. This seems to have been still customary at the time when the "Teaching" was written[5], but in Justin's time, in the middle of the second century, it seems clear that no food was partaken of at Communion except the consecrated bread and wine. So long as the Communion continued to be celebrated in the primitive manner, it was almost certainly held in the evening, at the usual hour of the principal meal[6]. But even in Pliny's time Christians held a meeting before dawn, and their habit of meeting in obscurity caused the heathen to reproach them with loving darkness rather than light[7]. In the African Church of the second and third centuries it is clear that Christians communicated before dawn, though it seems probable that in some cases they received in the evening also[8]. Of the evening participation however Cyprian seems to speak as if it were rather a domestic than a public rite.

c. 110.

Love-feasts.

Besides the Eucharist, Christians also assembled at common meals—"tables" or "love-feasts"[9]—for social intercourse and edification. Tertullian[1] describes the modest table and the sober joyousness of these festivals, which afterwards in his Montanistic fervour he calumniated[2]. It is however in fact evident that the love-feasts in some cases degenerated into mere scenes of enjoyment[3]. Directions are given in the Apostolical Constitutions[4] for the proper distribution of portions to the several ministers by the host who gives a love-feast.

---

[1] Numbers vi. 24—26.

[2] *Constt. Apost.* II. 59. 2.

[3] Acts ii. 46; see above, p. 27.

[4] 1 Cor. xi. 20 ff.

[5] It seems to be implied in the words "μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι," *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, c. 10.

[6] See Baronius, *ad annum* 34, c. 61.

[7] Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 8; compare Justin, *Trypho* 10; Origen, *c. Celsum*, I. 3, p. 5, Spencer.

[8] Tertullian, *ad Uxorem* II. 4; *De Corona Mil.* 3; Cyprian, *Epist.* 63, cc. 15, 16.

[9] Acts vi. 2; Jude 12. It is probably to such feasts that Pliny (*Epist.* 96 [97]) refers when he speaks of "cibus promiscuus";

Hours of Prayer.

Prayer was an essential part of Christian life. The third, sixth, and ninth hours were marked out by scriptural precedent[5], and we find them observed as special times of prayer in the second century[6]. In the third there was added a prayer earlier than that of the third hour and a prayer later than that of the ninth hour[7]. The earlier authorities give no ground for supposing that these prayers were said in churches, but in the Apostolical Constitutions[8] the people are exhorted to come to the Church daily, morning and evening. c. 300.

Marriage.

In the early days of Christianity marriage must of course have been celebrated in accordance with the law of the land, in order to obtain legal validity, but it was early recognized that the union of believers should be sanctified by God's blessing[9], and men of the stricter school came to regard a marriage not publicly declared in the church as no valid marriage at all[10]. The marriage ring and the veil seem to have been retained from old Roman custom[11], but the wreath, from its pagan associations, was disapproved[12]. Marriages of Christians with heathen were naturally discouraged[13]. Divorce was permitted for the one cause only which was recognized as valid by the Lord—adultery[14].

Burial of the Dead.

In the Church the bodies of the departed acquired a

---

for they were intermitted when he pointed out that they were a violation of the law against hetæriæ, and we can scarcely suppose that Christians would have intermitted the Eucharist.

[1] *Apologia* 39.

[2] *De Jejuniis* 17.

[3] Clement, *Pædag.* II. 1. 4.

[4] II. 28. 1.

[5] Ps. lv. 17; Dan. vi. 10; Acts iii. 1; x. 9, 30.

[6] Tertullian, *De Orat.* 20; *De Jejuniis* 10; Clement, *Strom.* VII. 7. § 40.

[7] Cyprian, *De Orat.* 35 f.

[8] II. 59. The date of this portion is however uncertain.

[9] Ignatius *ad Polycarpum* 5.

[10] Tertullian, *De Pudicitia* 4.

[11] Tert. *Apol.* 3; *De Virgg. Vel.* 11.

[12] Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 13.

[13] Cyprian, *De Lapsis* 6.

[14] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II. 23. § 144; Tert. *ad Marc.* IV. 34.

new sacredness, and were laid to rest with tender care. Christian feeling shrank from reducing the body of a believer to ashes, after the heathen fashion, and preferred to lay it reverently in the bosom of earth[1], to await the general resurrection. The body was frequently embalmed[2]. The clergy, as well as the friends and kinsfolk of the departed, accompanied it to the grave, chanting psalms as they went[3]. Nor were the dead forgotten when they were laid to rest. The anniversary of a brother's departure was observed by the faithful with oblations, love-feast, prayer and celebration of the Eucharist, if possible at the tomb, in which special mention was made of the departed[4]. As was natural, Christian brethren desired to rest near each other, and the places set apart for the reception of their remains, whether on the surface of the ground or in catacombs, were called cemeteries or "sleeping-places[5]". The custom of placing lamps or tapers in places of burial seems to have arisen at an early period[6].

Catacombs.

Like the Hebrews, Christians loved to deposit their dead in tombs hewn in the rock. In the neighbourhood of towns, it was of course rarely possible to obtain such burying-places except by subterranean excavation. Such excavations are found at Alexandria, in Sicily, at Naples, at Chiusi, at Milan, but most of all near Rome, where in later times they were known as catacombs[7]. These form an immense series of chambers for burial, connected by long corridors and galleries, and were undoubtedly excavated in the soft "tufa granolare" for the purpose for which they were actually used. The earliest appear to be almost coeval with the first appearance of Christianity in Rome. As Christians enjoyed, in general, the same protection for their dead as other subjects of the Empire, there is no reason to suppose that the catacombs were formed simply to conceal Christian burial-places; yet it is noteworthy that from the time that Christianity was recognized as the religion of the Empire, burials in the catacombs became infrequent and gradually ceased[1].

---

[1] Minucius Felix (*Octav.* 34. 10) speaks of interment as the better custom, but nevertheless points out that the disposal of the remains is, with reference to the resurrection, a matter of indifference (compare 11. 3, 4). The Christians of Lyons, in the second century, lamented that they were unable to commit their martyrs to the earth, in accordance with what was evidently the usual practice. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1. 61).

[2] Tert. *Apol.* 42.

[3] *Constt. Apost.* II. 30.

[4] Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 3; *De Exhort. Castit.* 11; *De Monogamia* 10. E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Cella Memoriae*.

[5] Κοιμητήρια, Dormitoria—both words used by classical writers for sleeping-rooms. The earliest use of *κοιμητήριον* for a burial-place seems to be in Hippolytus, *Hæres. Ref.* ix. 12. See E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Cemetery*.

[6] *Conc. Eliber.* (A.D. 305?) c. 34.

[7] Originally "ad catacumbas," a phrase describing the locality of a particular cemetery. The catacombs have given rise to an extensive literature. The first great work on the subject was that of Bosio (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1632), who was followed by Aringhi (*Roma Subterranea*, 1651), Boldetti (*Osserv. sopra i Cimiteri* 1720), and Bottari (*Sculture e pitture*, 1737 ff.). A new era began with Padre Marchi (*I monumenti delle Arti Cristiane*,

SACRED SEASONS. *The Sabbath.*

6. As was natural, Christians from the first dedicated special days to special observances. Christians, says Ignatius[2], no longer observed the Sabbath. Yet this must not be understood as if they paid it no respect, for some, at any rate, observed it as a day of joyful thanksgiving for the creation of the world[3]. But, whether they observed the Sabbath or not, they always recognized the weekly cycle, and their great weekly festival was the first day of the week, the day on which Christ rose from the dead.

The Lord's Day.

This day was already called Sunday[4], a name which Christians soon adopted; but its distinctively Christian appellation was "the Lord's Day[5]". On this day, dedi-

---

1844), who first shewed that the catacombs were not deserted sand-pits. But the most complete and satisfactory work on the subject is that of the brothers J. B. and M. S. De' Rossi (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1864 ff.), the substance of which has been made accessible to English readers by J. S. Northcott and W. R. Brownlow (*Roma Sotterranea*, 2nd ed. 1879 ff.). The works of L. Perret (*Les Catacombes de Rome*), Raoul-Rochette (*Tableau des Catacombes*), C. Maitland (*The Church in the Catacombs*), and E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Catacombs*, should also be mentioned.

[1] It is pretty clear that they were deserted when Jerome was a boy at Rome, about A.D. 364. See *Comm. in Ezek.* 40, p. 468.

[2] *Ad Magnesios* 9.

[3] *Constt. Apost.* II. 59. 1; VII. 23. 2. The seventh day is still called "sabbati dies" in Latin Calendars, and the French "Samedi" is a corruption of this name, as the German "Samstag" is of "Sabbatstag."

[4] Ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα, Justin M. *Apol.* I. 67; compare Tertullian, *Apol.* 16; *Ad Nationes*, I. 13. On the name "Sunday", and the similar names of the other days of the week, see Julius Hare in *Philolog. Museum*, I. 1 (1832), and *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* II. 2031, s. v. *Week*.

[5] Ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, *dies dominica*; see P. Heylyn, *Hist. of the Sabbath*, in his *Historical and Miscell. Tracts*; J. A. Hessey, *Sunday, its Origin, History, etc.*, and A. Barry, in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Lord's Day*.

cated to wholly joyful and exultant commemoration, it was not permitted to fast, or even to adopt the humble posture of kneeling in prayer[1]. Some also abstained from kneeling in their prayers on the Sabbath[2]. To abstain, so far as possible, from ordinary business on the Lord's Day had come to be recognized as a duty as early as the end of the second century[3]. The Wednesday in each week (as the day on which the rulers of the Jews took counsel to put Jesus to death) and the Friday (as the day of the Lord's Crucifixion) were towards the end of the second century observed as "Stations," days on which Christians were to be specially on guard (in statione) against the assaults of the enemy, when they had special devotions[4].

Stations.

The Christian Year.

The Pascha.

The year was also marked by a cycle of Festivals. The venerable feast of Pascha continued to be observed in the Church with a great change of significance. About the time of its observance early arose serious divisions in the Church[5].

Jewish.

Under the Jewish Law, the Paschal Lamb was sacrificed on the 14th day of the lunar month Nisan, and on the 16th was offered the sheaf which represented the first-fruits of the harvest[6]. Thus the offering of the Lamb was always at or near the time of full-moon.

Christian.

As the Lord suffered and rose again at the Paschal season, this festival naturally became to the Christians a commemoration of the Passion and the Resurrection; but there were considerable differences in early times both as to the time and the manner of the observance. The Ebionites, as they maintained generally the perpetual

1. Ebionite.

---

[1] Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* 3; Irenæus, *Fragm.* 7; *Conc. Nicænum*, c. 20.

[2] Tertullian, *De Orat.* 18 [al. 23].

[3] Tert. u. s.

[4] Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, c. 8; Tert. *De Orat.* 14 [al. 18]; 24 [al. 29]; *De Jejuniis* 1, 10; *Ad Uxorem*, II. 4.

[5] On the Paschal question generally, see H. Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, pp. 53 ff., 465 ff.; L. Hensley, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 586, s. v. *Easter*; S. Butcher, *The Ecclesiastical Calendar*, pp. 257 ff. The views on this matter of the Tübingen critics, who point out a seeming discrepancy between the practice of the Asiatic Church and the date assigned to the Crucifixion in St John's Gospel, may be found in A. Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit der Alten Kirche*. See also E. Schürer, *De Controversiis Pasch. II. Sæc. exortis* (Lipsiæ, 1869).

[6] Levit. xxiii. 11; Josephus, *Antiq.* III. x. 5.

obligation of the Mosaic law, even in ceremonial matters, kept their Pascha on the 14th Nisan with all the old ceremonies, holding that the Lord had also done this on the day before His death.

2. Jewish-Christian.

The Catholic Jewish-Christians, whose practice was extensively followed by the Churches of Asia Minor, while agreeing with the Ebionites as to the season for observing their Pascha, gave it a decidedly Christian significance. Christ, they held, the true Paschal Lamb, had Himself been slain on the 14th Nisan, and had consequently not held an ordinary Pascha with His disciples. They therefore commemorated the Crucifixion on the 14th Nisan, and the Resurrection on the 16th[1]. These were in later times known as Quartodecimans.

Quartodecimans.

3. Gentile Christians.

But in the West, and especially in Rome, where the influence of Judaism was less, the variation from the ancient Jewish observance was much greater. There it was held, that as there was already a weekly commemoration of the Resurrection on the first day of the week—the week-day on which, as all were agreed, the Lord actually rose—the great annual festival in honour of the same great event should take place on no other day. The commemoration of the Crucifixion would consequently fall on the sixth day of the week, Friday. If therefore the 14th Nisan did not fall on a Friday, the Romans commemorated the Crucifixion on the Friday next after it, and the Resurrection on the following Sunday.

Polycarp at Rome. A.D. 155.

For some years this divergency of practice continued in the Church without collision. The first signs of division were given on occasion of a visit of Polycarp of Smyrna to Rome. The Roman bishop Anicetus appealed, in defence of his own practice, to the tradition of his Church, while Polycarp, in defence of the Asiatic custom, alleged that he had himself actually celebrated a Pascha with the Apostle St John. Neither would yield to the other, but the two bishops at last parted in peace[2]. Some forty years later, however, the contest was renewed with much greater violence by Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycrates of

Victor and Polycrates, A.D. 196.

---

[1] Our information as to the Jewish-Christian manner of keeping Pascha is mainly derived from the fragments preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale* (I. pp. 12—14, ed. Dindorf). In the interpretation of these I have followed Kurtz, *Handbuch*, I. 243 ff.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 14; V. 24, § 16.

Ephesus. The former even went so far as to refuse to hold communion with the Asiatic Churches so long as they continued to observe the Paschal season in their accustomed manner. This high-handed proceeding was however generally resented; Irenæus in particular, himself sprung from Asia Minor, remonstrated warmly with the bishop of Rome, with full agreement of his Gallican brethren[1]. The question remained still for some generations undecided, but the Roman practice seems to have spread.

Paschal cycles.

In the third century a new difficulty arose. In early times Christians had been content to accept the current Jewish Paschal season as their own. Now, however, it came to be alleged that the Jews themselves had varied. In ancient times (it was said) the Jews had always so arranged their calendar that the 14th Nisan was the day of the first full-moon after the vernal equinox; but after the fall of Jerusalem they had ceased to observe this, so that their Paschal full-moon was sometimes before that epoch[2]. As some Christians observed, while others neglected, the rule as to the equinox, it was possible for one Church to be celebrating its Pascha a month earlier than another. It was probably this uncertainty about the correct reckoning of the Pascha which induced Christian teachers to attempt an independent calculation, taking account of the official Roman calendar. Hippolytus of Rome drew up a cycle for indicating the true Paschal full-moon, based on the suppositions, that the vernal equinox fell on the 18th March, and that after sixteen years the full-moons again fell on the same days of the year[3]. His cycle found great acceptance in the West. For the Alexandrian Church a different cycle was drawn up by its bishop Dionysius[1]. This was, however, soon superseded by the cycle—correct in so far as it assumed the recurrence of the full-moons on the same year-day in nineteen years—of Anatolius of Laodicea[2]. But diversity of practice continued to exist, and the Paschal question was one of those brought before the Council of Nicæa.

---

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24; Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22.

[2] See Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22, p. 293. It should be observed that the Jewish months were lunar. As 12 lunar months contain only 354 days, a month was intercalated at certain intervals to keep Nisan in such a position, with regard to the solar year, as to admit of the sheaf being offered on the 16th; and a day which admitted of the offering of the first-fruits of the corn would almost certainly be after the vernal equinox. Possibly when the Jews ceased to be an agricultural people, and were dispersed in various countries, they were less careful about the offering of the sheaf; or the cycle of intercalation which they used may have had an inherent imperfection which in time brought the 14th Nisan before the vernal equinox.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 22. Hippolytus's cycle is engraved on the back of his marble statue found near Rome in 1551, engraved in Bunsen's *Hippolytus*. See G. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 508; iii. 91.

Fasting.

The commemoration of the Lord's Crucifixion was from ancient times preceded by a fast[3]. In the second century we find that some fasted at this time one day, some two days, some forty hours; and that these differences were mutually tolerated[4]. Socrates[5] states that the Roman custom was to fast three weeks, while in Greece and Alexandria a forty-days' fast was observed. Uniformity in this respect was not established before the fifth or sixth century. In the week immediately preceding Easter Sunday the fast was (in some Churches at least) very strict, most of all on the two days—Good Friday and the "Great Sabbath"—before Easter Sunday[6]. Many spent the whole night between the Great Sabbath and Easter Sunday in devotion in the churches[7], and hailed with joy the dawn of the Easter morning.

Quadragesima.

The seven weeks which followed Easter were a time of special joyfulness, during which the faithful did not bend the knee, but prayed standing[8]. The fortieth day after the festival of the Resurrection, corresponding to the day of the Lord's Ascension, was naturally one of triumphant jubilation[9]. The festal season ended with the fiftieth day, Pentecost, the day of the great outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Jerusalem, the birthday of the Christian Church[10]. The followers of Basilides are said to have kept a festival,

Ascension Day.

Pentecost.

---

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 20. See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, iii. 462.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 32, 13 ff.

[3] P. Gunning, *The Paschal or Lent Fast*, reprinted in *Library of Anglo-Cath. Theol.*, 1845.

[4] Irenæus in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. § 12.

[5] *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22, p. 294.

[6] *Constt. Apost.* v. 19.

[7] Tertullian, *ad Uxorem*, ii. 4; *Constt. Apost.* v. 19.

[8] Irenæus, *Fragm.* vii. p. 342; cf. Tertullian, *de Corona Mil.* 3.

[9] *Constt. Apost.* v. 19.

[10] Pentecost is one of the three special days mentioned by Origen (*c. Celsum*, p. 392, ed. Spencer), the others being Good Friday and Easter Day. The English name for Pentecost, Whitsunday, no doubt=White Sunday. See Skeat's *Etymol. Dict.* s.v. *Whitsunday.*

with a vigil preceding, in commemoration of the baptism of the Lord in the Jordan[1].

Saints' Days.

Another class of yearly festivals arose from the annual commemorations of martyrs, which took place on the day of their death, and (where it was possible) at their tombs. From the first, the faithful shewed the greatest anxiety to obtain possession of the mortal remains of those who had fallen in the great fight[2], and with like care they noted the day of departure[3], the birth-day[4] of their brother into a higher life. Besides the ceremonies usual at the graves of the faithful departed[5], the acts of the martyr were recited, and probably before the end of the third century it became customary to pass the night preceding the festival—sometimes with much disorder—at his tomb[6].

Vigils.

ARCHITECTURAL AND OTHER ART.

Buildings[7].

7. It is not probable that in the earliest times of Christianity Christians raised special buildings for their worship. When they were rejected by the synagogue, those who held Christ for the Messiah met wherever they could obtain leave to meet; in the large upper-room or loft of a disciple[8], in the lecture-theatre of a rhetorician[9], in the great hall of a Greek or Roman house[10]. Early in the third century Christians had acquired land with a view to erecting a place of worship[11], and it is probable that at this time they possessed buildings of their own, resembling the *scholæ* or lodge-rooms which various guilds or corporations erected for their meetings. During the dark days of Decius and Diocletian they sometimes met in the silence and secrecy of the subterranean cemeteries, portions of which have been thought to be arranged as churches[12]. But in the peaceful period between those emperors the work of church-building went actively for-

Scholæ.

---

[1] Clement Alex. *Strom.* I. 21, p. 407, Potter.

[2] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 18; *Lugdunensium Epistola* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, § 61.

[3] Cyprian, *Epist.* 12.

[4] Ἡμέρα γενέθλιος, *Mart. Polyc.* 18; dies natalis, natalitia, Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 3.

[5] Antea, p. 159.

[6] *Conc. Eliber.* c. 35.

[7] G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral* (Edinburgh, 1886.)

[8] Acts i. 13; xx. 8; Pseudo-Lucian *Philopatris*, 23.

[9] Acts xix. 9.

[10] Clementine *Recognitions*, IV. 6; X. 71; *Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani* (in Augustine, *Opp.* IX. 794, ed. Migne), referring to a transaction of A.D. 303.

[11] Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, c. 49.

[12] Marchi, *Monumenti*, pp. 180 ff.,

ward. The increased congregations were no longer satisfied with their old narrow rooms, but built everywhere large and conspicuous churches[1]. The stately church of Nicomedia was visible from the emperor's palace[2]. Of the fittings and ornaments of churches in the first three centuries little is known, except that each church had a Table or Altar[3] for the administration of the Eucharist, and a desk or raised footpace for the reader or preacher. The supposed church in the catacomb of St Agnes has at one end, hewn in the tufa, a chair which is thought to be the seat of the bishop; and the earliest description[4] of a church places the bishop's throne in the middle of the east end, with the seats of the presbyters on each side.

Fittings.

Painting.

As all Christian buildings of the first three centuries have long disappeared, it is only in the catacombs that we can look for remains of early Christian art[5]. There we find that from the earliest times the faithful decorated with paintings the chambers where they laid their dead, and where the living sometimes assembled. They adopted, as was inevitable, the style and many of the subjects of their pagan contemporaries. As in the houses of pagan Pompeii, so in the Christian vaults, the vine trails over the walls, birds and butterflies and winged genii display their beauties, and graceful draped female figures are not absent; but the Vine symbolized the Saviour, and the other representations also received a new significance. Even the figure of the mythic Orpheus came to symbolize the attractive power of Christ. The Fish[6] represented both the Saviour Himself, and the disciple who draws life from the vivifying water. Under the image of the Fisher-

---

tavv. xxxv—xxxvii; *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* i. 313; *From Schola to Cathedral*, p. 60.

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* viii. 1.

[2] Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* 12.

[3] Τράπεζα (the usual liturgical word), *θυσιαστήριον* (less common), mensa, altare, ara Dei (Tert. *de Orat.* 14).

[4] In *Constt. Apost.* ii. 57. 4.

[5] See the works referred to antea, p. 159, note 7; and add Seroux d'Agincourt, *L'Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments;* Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta;* A. W. C. Lindsay (Lord Lindsay), *Sketches of the History of Christian Art;* F. Kugler, *Handbook of Painting* (Italy), from the German by Eastlake; J. W. Burgon, *Letters from Rome;* R. St. John Tyrwhitt, *The Art Teaching of the Primitive Church;* R. Garrucci, *l'Histoire de l'Art Chrétien*; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, s. v. *Fresco.*

[6] The Greek word 'Ιχθύς is the acrostic of 'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

man Christ is seen as the great "fisher of men," and under that of the Shepherd He gathers His sheep in His arms or leads them to pasture. Scenes from the Old Testament are made to symbolize the truths of the New. Direct representations of Christ and His saints are generally avoided in the earliest Christian pictorial art.

Engraved Gems.

Gems[1] were early engraved with Christian symbols. The devices which Clement[2] recommends are the dove, the fish, the ship, the lyre, the anchor, the fisherman; and very early specimens are extant bearing these and similar figures.

Glass.

Tertullian[3] alludes to the figure of the Good Shepherd carrying the lost sheep, which Christians loved to see on the bottom of cups, seemingly glass cups. The bottoms of many such cups, bearing various representations in gold-leaf enclosed between two layers of glass, are found embedded in the mortar of the catacombs[4]. Not only does the Good Shepherd appear in these, with many other Christian symbols, but heads are found, intended seemingly for portraits of apostles and other saints whose names are appended.

Such were the small beginnings of the arts which in eighteen centuries have raised magnificent buildings and displayed glorious representations of sacred scenes in the most enlightened countries of the world.

---

[1] Martigny, *Des Anneaux chez les premiers Chrétiens;* C. D. E. Fortnum, in *Archæological Journal* 1869 and 1871, on *Early Christian Finger-rings;* C. W. King, *Antique Gems*, II. 24 ff; Churchill Babington in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Gems.*

[2] *Pædag.* III. 11. 59.

[3] *De Pudicitia*, 7.

[4] R. Garrucci, *Vetri Ornati di figure in Oro;* Churchill Babington in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Glass, Christian.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.

Ch. IX.
The Imperial Church.
Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313.

1. In the year 313 Constantine[1] and Licinius found themselves masters of the Roman world. They had joined in the edict which gave full toleration to Christianity, but with very different feelings. Licinius, without actually declaring his hostility, harassed the Christian communities within his dominions by the hundred petty annoyances which are always at the command of persons in authority. Constantine, though no doubt restrained in some degree by consideration for his partner in the empire, shewed in many ways the favour which he bore to Christianity. Several of the measures by which he benefited the Church belong to the period in which he still had Licinius for his colleague. He caused large sums to
A.D. 314. be given to the Churches of Africa[2]; he conferred on
A.D. 316. Christian masters the power of manumitting their slaves without the presence of a magistrate[3]; he exempted the
A.D. 321. clergy from the obligation of undertaking burdensome municipal offices[4]; he permitted Churches to accept legacies[5]; he commanded labour to cease, with the exception

---

[1] Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs;* J. C. F. Manso, *Das Leben Constantins;* J. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins;* Th. Keim, *Der Uebertritt Constantins;* J. Wordsworth, *Constantinus I.* in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* I. 624 ff. See also A. de Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire au IVme Siècle*, vols. 1 and 2; H. H. Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. 2; A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, *Lect.* VI.; W. Bright, *Hist. of the Church from* 313—451.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 6.

[3] Rescript to Hosius, in *Codex Justin.* I. xiii. 1.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 7; *Codex Theod.* XVI. ii. 1, 2. This edict however did not exempt ecclesiastics from burdens which fell upon them as *landowners*, when they possessed estates. See Guizot's note on Gibbon, III. 31, ed. W. Smith.

[5] *Codex Theod.* XVI. ii. 4.

Constantine's views.

A.D. 326.

of necessary work in the fields, on Sunday[1]. This last order, however, must not be assumed to have been given out of pure respect to the great weekly festival of Christians. It is clear that Constantine dreamed in these days of directing to one form of worship the common tendency of all mankind to reverence the divinity, thinking that such a universal religion would be an admirable bond for the distracted empire[2]. The worship of the Sun, especially under the name of Mithras, was very widely prevalent in the empire, and it may have seemed to the great ruler possible to unite the worship of the material sun with that of the Sun of Righteousness. Certainly many of his coins bear on one face the sign of the Cross or the Labarum, on the other the sun-god[3]. He retained the title of Pontifex Maximus and discharged the sacrificial duties belonging to the office. In fact, Constantine's real feeling towards the faith of Christ is involved in great obscurity. He was apparently capable of religious emotion, and was fond of preaching to his courtiers[4]. Yet he always remained outside the Church, and was baptized only on his death-bed[5]. It is certain that his Christianity did not prevent him from putting to death his son Crispus and his wife Fausta. A generation or two later a story was current[6] that, in great remorse at his bloody deeds, he had appealed to pagan priests or flamens to cleanse him from his guilt, and that it was only when the pagans declared that they had no lustration for guilt such as his that he turned to the Christians, who promised him purification. This story contains several improbabilities, but it is not inconceivable that a man of so complex a character may have had some dealings with pagan hierophants even after the date of Nicæa, as Saul resorted to the witch of En-dor even after he had endeavoured to put down witchcraft.

---

[1] *Codex Justin.* III. xii. 3; Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, IV. 18, 19, 20.

[2] τὴν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον πρόθεσιν εἰς μιᾶς ἕξεως σύστασιν ἑνῶσαι...προυθυμήθη; Euseb. *Vita C.* II. 65.

[3] F. W. Madden, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 1277 ff. On the earliest coins of Constantine, however, the ☧ appears on the emperor's helmet, as if it were a personal badge.

[4] Euseb. *Vita C.* IV. 29.

[5] Socrates, I. 39; Sozomen, II. 34; Philostorgius, II. 16.

[6] Given by Zosimus, II. 29. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* I. 5) mentions a similar story, which he regards as a calumny and utterly disbelieves.

Constantine against Licinius.

But it was clear that Constantine, with whatever reservation, was favourable to the Church, while Licinius was against it. The heathen consequently regarded the latter as their champion, while the Christians flocked round the former; and when in 323 the smouldering jealousy of the two Augusti broke out into open conflict, the war was in fact one of religion, and the victory of Constantine was the victory of the Church. He caused his conquered rival to be put to death, and stood sole master of the empire. Then he could carry out with greater freedom his plans for the reorganization of the state and the recognition of the Church.

Constantine alone, A.D. 323.

Constantinople founded 325, *dedicated* 330.

He began with the foundation of New Rome, the city of Constantine, on the beautiful site of the old Byzantium, in Europe, but over against Asia[1]. This city was adorned with a lavish hand by the master of the treasures of East and West. Old Rome was no longer the centre of the empire. It clung with great tenacity to the old religion under which its conquests had been won; its traditional republicanism was not extinct; and its pagan and republican citizens by no means hailed with enthusiasm a monarch who deserted the old deities[2]. The transference of the seat of the imperial government to Byzantium had very important consequences for the Church. If Rome had remained the capital of the empire, the development of the papacy would almost certainly have been retarded, and the whole course of its history changed. Hardly less important was the character of Oriental despotism which the empire rapidly acquired in its new seat, and which would probably have grown more slowly in old Rome. Constantinople became, however, the great bulwark of Christianity against Islam, and the nursery of Greek literature during the Middle Ages. It was there, in fact, that the seeds of the Reformation of the sixteenth century were preserved.

Organization.

His great city founded, Constantine proceeded with the organization of the empire, in the way which promised to render the control of the central government most effective. He unfortunately at the same time increased the oppressive weight of taxation which in time crushed the unfortunate provincials.

---

[1] Socrates, I. 16; Sozomen, II. 3; Philostorgius, II. 9. On the dates, see Pagi on Baronius, ann. 324, n. 19; 330, n. 4.

[2] *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 517, ed. Dindorf.

Privileges of the Clergy.

Church Courts legalized, 376.

A.D. 412.

Justinian, 527—565.

Constantine said to a party of bishops at his table, that he was bishop of matters external, while they were bishops in the internal affairs of the Church[1], intending probably little more than to gratify the prelates by a polite speech. The distinction was at any rate not very accurately observed in subsequent times; but a succession of edicts by Constantine and his successors increased the power, the wealth, and the dignity of the Church. Bishops had long arbitrated in ecclesiastical matters, and in civil suits between Christians who were unwilling to go to law before unbelievers; a law of the year 376 gave to the decisions of these courts of arbitration the same legal force which belonged to those of the imperial magistrates[2]. Somewhat later, no accusation against a cleric could be heard otherwhere than before the tribunal of the bishop[3]. The Church itself had already treated with great severity those who, being condemned by an ecclesiastical court, ventured to appeal to an imperial tribunal[4]. That bishops should bring before the emperor's court cases in which injustice had been done to the weak and friendless was right and becoming; but they were forbidden to sully the dignity of their office by taking up unworthy or frivolous cases[5]. They took cognizance, as was natural, of matters which were rather offences against the moral law than against the state, and sometimes succeeded in overawing even high-placed offenders. The privileges of bishops were considerably extended by the legislation of Justinian, which gave them civil jurisdiction over monks and nuns[6], as well as clerics, and added legal sanction to the oversight of public morality and the protection of the suffering which they had hitherto practised on the authority of the Church. It enjoined and empowered them to take charge of prisoners, minors, imbeciles, foundlings, and other waifs and strays of society[1]; it gave them authority to put down gaming[2] and to supplement the judgments of lay tribunals[3]; and it endowed them with co-ordinate authority in the management of municipal property[4]. Bishops thus became very important civil officials, and the secular judges were forbidden to summon them as witnesses or to administer an oath to them[5]. Bishops were also freed, like other high officials of the empire, from the patria potestas[6]. From the fourth century onward they enjoyed the same right of intercession for criminals which had once been enjoyed by the Vestals, especially on behalf of those who were sentenced to death[7]. The right of asylum, too, which had belonged to certain heathen temples, passed by custom to Christian churches, and was formally legalized by Theodosius in the fifth century[8].

---

[1] Euseb. *Vita C.* IV. 24.

[2] *Codex Theodos.* XVI. ii. 23; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. 9.

[3] *Codex Theodos.* XVI. ii. 41, 47. But a law of Leo, A.D. 459 (quoted by Hatch, *Organization* 146, n. 17), makes clerks amenable only to τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν πραιτωρίων.

[4] *Conc. Antioch.* cc. 11, 12; *Constantinop.* I. c. 6; *Carthag.* III. 9; *Chalcedon.* 9. Athanasius however (*Apologia c. Arianos* 9) expressed his willingness to plead before the emperor himself.

[5] *Conc. Sardic.* c. 8 (Lat.), 7 (Gr.).

[6] Justiniani *Novellæ*, 79. 83. 123, c. 21.

Intercession.

Asylum.

Property.

In addition to these privileges the Church also received under the Christian emperors large additions to its property. From the municipal income of cities, from the spoils of heathen temples and occasionally of heretical conventicles, riches flowed in upon the Church[9], which was now empowered to receive legacies and gifts from the faithful. One effect of this permission was, that increased wealth occasioned a great extension of the works of beneficence for which the Church even in its poverty had been distinguished. Attempts were made to succour all kinds of suffering and distress; and so greatly did this increase the influence of the Church, that the emperor Julian attempted to transplant charitable institutions into his re-

---

[1] *Codex Just.* I. iv. 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33.

[2] *Ib.* 25.

[3] *Ib.* 21, 31.

[4] *Ib.* 26, § 4.

[5] *Novella*, 123, § 7.

[6] *Novella*, 81.

[7] See Ambrose, *Epist.* VII. 58, *ad Studium;* Augustine, *Epist.* 153, *ad Macedonium;* 133, *ad Marcellinum.* The attempts at forcible rescue which were sometimes made led to legislative repression, *Codex Theodos.* IX. xl. 15, 16, A.D. 392, 398.

[8] *Codex Theodos.* IX. xlv. 1, 2, 3.

[9] Euseb. *Vita C.* IV. 28; Sozomen, I. 8; Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 11; Incertus Auctor, *de Constant.* (quoted by Hatch, *Organization*, p. 150, n. 28); Theophanes, p. 42, ed. Classen; Nicephorus Callisti, VII. 46; Cedrenus, pp. 478, 498.

Distribution. 492—496.

vived paganism. With the increase of wealth came also the necessity to arrange for its equitable distribution. For this Gelasius I.[1] decreed that the total income of a church, whether derived from property or from the offerings of the faithful, should be divided into four equal parts, of which one should be given to the bishop, one to the other clergy, one to the poor, and one to the maintenance of the buildings. The council of Braga[2], a generation or two later, divided the income of a church into three portions, one for the bishop, one for the rest of the clergy, and the third for the reparation or lighting of the church.

563.

The Clergy and the Crown.

The relations of the clergy, and especially of the bishops, to the emperor and other high officials present curious contrasts. The respect paid to the bishop was from the first very great, and it was certainly not diminished when he became a conspicuous person in the eyes of the world. Even emperors bowed the head before him and kissed his hand[3]. Jerome[4], whose life was simple and ascetic, was indignant at the lofty bearing of some of the prelates and presbyters, and begged them to remember, that the faithful were their fellow-servants, not their bond-servants.

Respect paid to the Emperor.

But whatever respect the emperors might pay to the Church and its officers, they had in fact immense influence over it. From the time when the emperors became Christian, says Socrates[5], the affairs of the Church depended upon them. It could hardly be otherwise. Privileges were conferred by law upon the Catholic Church alone[6], and occasions unfortunately soon arose when it was necessary for the emperor to say which of two contending parties he considered Catholic. If the defeated party asked, what the emperor had to do with the Church, the victors replied, that the Church was in the state, and that none was over the emperor but God[7]. The Fathers at

---

[1] *Epist.* 9, c. 27.

[2] Canon 7.

[3] Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 6, p. 153 (see Valesius's note, and Bingham's *Antiq.* bk. II. c. 9); Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, III. 1.

[4] *In Titum*, c. 1: "Sciat episcopus et presbyter sibi populum conservum esse non servum."

[5] *H. E.* v. Preface.

[6] *Codex Theod.* XVI. i. 2 (Law of Constantine, an. 326).

[7] Optatus Milev. *De Schism. Donatist.* I. 22; III. 3. The Donatists repudiated the authority of the orthodox Constantine (Optatus, u. s.), and the Catholics that of the Arian Constantius (Hosius *ad Constant.*

Constantinople in the year 448, when an imperial rescript had been read, cried out "Long live our High-Priest, the Emperor[1]!" Edicts issued by the emperor were published in the churches[2]. And as the emperor, by influence or direct nomination, secured the election of many bishops, especially of those of Constantinople[3], the episcopal order was generally disposed to do him homage. Justinian shewed much favour to the Church, but at the same time he made it more directly subject to the state. Whomsoever he may have consulted privately, his edicts on the affairs of the Church—even on a matter so strictly ecclesiastical as the tone in which the Liturgy should be said[4], —run in precisely the same style as those on purely secular matters; no authority but that of the emperor appears in them; he issues his commands to the patriarchs of Old Rome and of Constantinople as if they were imperial officials. The Italian bishops however always maintained a certain independence, and noted with some degree of contempt the subservience of their Eastern brethren[5]. And generally, in spite of the temptation to compliance, there were never wanting ecclesiastical leaders courageous enough to enforce, even upon emperors and their favourites, the claims of the Church to a higher sovereignty than that of temporal princes[6]. Chrysostom could brave imperial anger and go calmly into exile[7]; Ambrose could repel Theodosius, bloody with massacre, from his church[8]. Nor were these solitary instances.

Persecution.

It was perhaps an almost inevitable result of the intimate connexion between the Church and the Empire that dissidents from the faith recognized as Catholic were persecuted. The greatest leaders of Christian thought were indeed opposed to all coercion in matters of faith.

---

in Athanasii *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, c. 44), in almost the same terms.

[1] Kurtz, *Handbuch*, II. 22.

[2] The words "lecta in ecclesia Romana" appear at the end of an edict, *Codex Theod.* XVI. ii. 20. Other instances of similar publication are given in Godefroy's note on this passage.

[3] Thomassin, *Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, P. II, lib. 2, c. 6.

[4] *Novella*, 123. Justinian's theory of he relation between Sacerdotium and Imperium is set forth in the Preamble to his sixth *Novel*.

[5] See the Epistle of the Italian clergy in Hardouin's *Concilia*, III. 48 (Mansi, IX. 153), A.D. 552.

[6] Gregory of Nazianz. *Orat.* XVII. p. 271.

[7] Theodoret, *E. H.* v. 34.

[8] *Ib.* v. 18.

Hilary of Poictiers[1], for instance, set forth the blessings of religious freedom, and the worthlessness of enforced compliance, with admirable clearness and force. Chrysostom[2] would limit persecution to forbidding the assemblies of heretics and depriving them of their churches. The great name of Augustin, however, appears among the advocates of persecution. He had indeed in his earlier days contended for the freedom of religious convictions, but the obstinate resistance of the Donatists to his earnest persuasions convinced him that there were some who would own no argument but force[3]. Theodosius I. enacted severe laws against those who did not accept the Catholic faith, but these were not executed[4]; and the first Christian prince who actually caused men to be put to death on account of religion was the usurper Maximus[5], whose proceedings called forth general indignation and found no imitator for many generations. The excellent Martin of Tours protested in this case, that it was an outrage for a secular judge to try an ecclesiastical case, and that no other punishment could fittingly be inflicted on heretics but that of excommunication[6].

A.D. 385.

THE HIERARCHY.

2. The great lines of the Christian hierarchy remained after the public recognition of Christianity the same as in the previous period, though the changed condition of the Church occasioned the appointment of some new officers. The needs of the great cities, often visited by pestilence, called for the Parabolani[7], who hazarded their lives in attendance on the sick; and the Copiatæ[8], who buried the dead. As the property of the Church increased it required the attention of special stewards or managers[9], under the bishops' direction. A special body of lawyers was created to defend the interests of the Church, and especially of the poor, in the courts[10]. A large number of notaries[11] took

Parabolani.
Copiatæ.

Oeconomi.
Defensores.

Notarii.

---

[1] *Ad Constantium*, I. 2, 7.

[2] *In Matthæum*, Hom. 29, c. 46; compare Socrates, VI. 19.

[3] *Retractationes*, II. 5; *Epist.* 93 *ad Vincentium*, c. 17; 185, *ad Bonifacium*, c. 21. He did however exhort officials to gentleness in their proceedings, *Epist.* 100, *ad Donatum proconsulem.*

[4] Sozomen, VII. 12.

[5] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. 49—51.

[6] Sulpicius, u. s. c. 50, § 5.

[7] *Codex Theodos.* XVI. ii. 42, 43.

[8] *Codex Justin.* I. ii. 4.

[9] *Conc. Chalced.* c. 26 (A.D. 451).

[10] Codex Eccl. Afric., cc. 75, 97. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. *Advocatus* and *Defensor.*

[11] Augustin, *De Doctr. Chr.* II. 26;

Chartophylax. *Syncelli.* *Apocrisiarii.*

minutes of important proceedings and drew legal documents. As the archives of the great Churches accumulated, it became necessary to put them under the charge of a keeper of the records in each Church[1]. The important matters which came into the hands of patriarchs and metropolitans caused them to require the assistance of privy-councillors or ministers, and their intercourse with the government made the services of legates at the Imperial court almost indispensable[2].

Deacons. *Archdeacons.* *Deaconesses.* *Bishop.*

In the ordinary ministry of the Church[3], the office of deacon remained in theory the same. But the deacons, being constantly by the bishop's side as his helpers and secretaries, often attempted to set themselves above the presbyters—a presumption which was checked by the decrees of several councils[4]. The archidiaconus or chief of the deacons[5], in particular, became commonly the bishop's confidential adviser and representative; frequently his successor. The order of deaconesses gradually lost its early prominence; which however it retained much longer in the East, where the seclusion of women rendered their services important, than in the West[6]. The Western Church resolutely opposed the ordination of deaconesses, and at last forbade it altogether[7]. The bishop was, as of old, the head and chief administrator of the district committed to him. He represented it in all its external relations, and especially in councils. He summoned and presided over its synod. To him alone it belonged to ordain presbyters and deacons; to him alone, in the Western Church, to lay hands on those who had been baptized. He was the proper minister of the Word and Sacraments, though he

---

Collat. Donat. die ii. c. 3; *Conc. Tolet.* IV. c. 4. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Notary.*

[1] See Ducange's *Glossaries* and Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. χαρτοφύλαξ.

[2] *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. *Syncellus* and *Legate*, p. 969.

[3] See p. 124 ff.

[4] *Nicænum*, c. 18, *Laodicenum*, c. 20.

[5] See H. Götze, *De Archidiaconorum in vet. eccl. officiis et auctoritate* (Lipsiæ 1705); J. G. Pertsch *Vom Ursprung d. Archidiak.* (Hildesheim 1743); L. Thomassin, *Eccl. Disciplina*, I. ii. 17—20; Bingham's *Antiq.* II, c. 21.

[6] Directions for the ordination of a deaconess are given in the *Constt. Apost.* VIII. 19 f. The decree of Nicæa (c. 19) which speaks of their not having ordination clearly refers to Paulianist deaconesses.

[7] *Conc. Arausic.* c. 26 (A.D. 441); *Epaon.* c. 21 (A.D. 517); *Aurelian.* c. 18 (A.D. 533). See J. S. Howson, *Deaconesses.*

might delegate these functions to inferior ministers. He, with his council of presbyters, excommunicated offenders and readmitted penitents; without him neither exclusion nor reconciliation could take place. He also granted letters of commendation to members of his flock travelling abroad.

Election.

The Council of Nicæa[1] laid down, that a bishop must be approved and chosen by the faithful of the city over which he was to preside, with—in the particular case before them—the assent of the bishop of Alexandria. He was to be ordained and admitted to his office[2] by the bishops of the same province, or by three of them at least. And this seems to have been generally recognized as the rule of the Church, that the whole body of the faithful (ὁ λαὸς) should at least have an opportunity of saying whether a candidate proposed was worthy or unworthy[3]. Even after the election was supposed to have taken place, opposition might shew itself. When Theodorus of Heraclea enthroned Demophilus at Constantinople many of those who were present cried out "unworthy[4]." But not unfrequently distinguished men were actually chosen bishops by the acclamation of the people, as Ambrose at Milan[5], Martin at Tours[6], Eustathius at Antioch[7], Chrysostom at Constantinople[8]. Various customs however prevailed locally. In Southern Gaul the bishops —presumably the comprovincial bishops—were to choose three, from whom the clergy and people (cives) were to choose one to be the bishop of their city[9]. In Spain the clergy and people of the city were to choose two or three, whose names were to be submitted to the metropolitan and bishops of the province, and one chosen by lot[10]. But in many cases powerful persons, whether bishops or others, were able to override rules[11]. The emperors at

---

[1] *Synodical Epistle* in Theodoret *H. E.* I. 9; p. 32.

[2] Καθίστασθαι, *Conc. Nicæ.* c. 4.

[3] *Constt. Apost.* VIII. 4; Ambrose *De Sacerdot.* 5.

[4] Philostorgius *H. E.* IX. 10.

[5] Theodoret *H. E.* IV. 7.

[6] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 9.

[7] Theodoret *H. E.* I. 7.

[8] Socrates *H. E.* VI. 2.

[9] *Conc. Arelat.* II. 54 (A.D. 452).

[10] *Conc. Barcinon.* II. 3 (A.D. 599).

[11] Valentinian III. complains (*Novel.* 24, appended to *Codex Theod.*) that Hilary of Arles ordained persons even against the wish of the laity who were interested; and the

Constantinople, in particular, generally secured the election of those whom they favoured.

Presbyters.

The same principles which regulated the choice of bishops prevailed also in the election of presbyters. To speak generally, a bishop could ordain no one without consulting his clergy and obtaining the testimony and the assent of the lay people of the city[1].

Elections in which the people of a city took so large a share were apt to become tumultuary[2]. In Rome in particular, where the city was large and populous and the office of bishop unusually important, scenes of great violence were often witnessed at an episcopal election. The partisans of Symmachus and Laurentius, at the end of the fifth century, are said to have contended with so much violence that the streets were strewn with dead, and at the synod which was held a few years afterwards under Symmachus, it was complained that the laity had the election wholly in their own hands, contrary to the ancient canons.

A.D. 498.

Synodus Palmaris, A.D. 503.

There was in fact a constant danger lest in a popular election mere mob-violence should prevail, and from an early period attempts were made to check this[3], apparently with no great effect. Justinian[4] laid down that the clergy and chief men of a city should nominate three persons on a vacancy in their see, and that from these three one should be chosen by the consecrator—generally the metropolitan—to fill the vacant throne. At that time probably the term "chief men" (πρῶτοι) was understood of a definite class.

Under Teutonic Kings.

The Teutonic dominion in Europe naturally made a great change in the position of the chief officers of the Church. Considerable estates were conferred upon ecclesiastical persons; bishops became the king's liegemen and were often employed on the business of the state. The lands of the Church were freed from many imposts, but remained subject to feudal service, whence it came to pass

---

third Council of Paris (c. 8) inveighs against the interference of princes.

[1] *Conc. Carthag.* IV. 22 (A.D. 398). Compare Possidius *Vita Augustini*, c. 21; Jerome, *Epist.* IV. *ad Rusticum.*

[2] Neander, *Hist. of Church*, III. 203 (Edinb. 1848).

[3] *Conc. Laodic.* 13.

[4] *Novel.* 123, c. 1. Compare *Codex* I, tit. 3, *De Episcop.* 1. 42.

that bishops wore armour and fought in battle[1]. Under such circumstances, territorial lords came to look upon the holders of ecclesiastical benefices in much the same light as their other feudal tenants, and would only enfeoff persons who were agreeable to them[2]. They thus acquired at any rate a veto on the nomination of bishops, and in most cases prevented all difficulty by themselves nominating; they even sometimes sold their presentations[3]. The status of the clergy generally was also materially changed by the laws of the Franks. No free man could be taken into the ranks of the clergy without the king's license; the clergy were therefore mainly recruited from among the unfree[4]. The ordinary presbyters therefore came to be looked upon as an inferior class, and their rights were sometimes little regarded even by their bishops[5]. The power of the bishops was great, and it was well that persons of some cultivation and refinement should be able to influence the rough warriors who bore rule. A law of Clotaire[6], the son of Clovis, gave the bishops a general power of reviewing the decisions of lay judges; and excommunication came to be more dreaded when it carried with it civil disabilities[7].

Law of Clotaire, A.D. 560.

Presbyters.

During the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries the relations of the bishop to his presbyters remained in theory much the same as they had been in the previous period, but practically they underwent considerable change. The importance of bishops increased and that of presbyters diminished. Yet in some cases the presbyters seem to have gained in importance. In earlier ages a bishop was charged with the oversight of the faithful in a city; the scattered congregations in the country districts were cared for by rural bishops with less extensive powers[8]. Congregations were sporadic. But after Constantine the whole empire was covered by the ecclesiastical system. A bishop became the ecclesiastical ruler of a region, not of a city only. Every town or village was included in some diocese. Presbyters consequently who held office at a distance from the bishop naturally came to discharge, as a matter of course, functions—such as preaching and the administration of the sacraments—which had once been regarded as belonging specially to the bishop. Such presbyters appear to have been, at any rate frequently, appointed by the bishop[1], though no doubt with the consent of the local community[2]; and in some instances—as in that of St Augustine[3]—the local church-people chose their candidate, whom they presented to the bishop for ordination. Presbyters appointed to the charge of a place where there was no bishop were said to rule (regere) a Church, and hence, in the West, were called rectors[4]. In the time of Justinian we see the beginning of lay-patronage, in a law[5] which permitted persons who built an oratory and maintained a body of clergy, and also their heirs, to nominate to the bishop fit clerics to serve the chapel.

---

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* IV. 43 [al. 37].

[2] Bishops were still in theory chosen "juxta electionem cleri et plebis," but also "cum voluntate regis." *Conc. Aurel.* V. c. 10 (A.D. 549).

[3] Gregory of Tours, *Vitæ Patrum*, c. 3.

[4] This does not mean *slaves*, but persons who lived among the Franks without having the rights of citizens in the Frankish community. They were probably in most cases the descendants of the older inhabitants of the country.

[5] *Conc. Carpentorat.* (527); *Tolet.* III. 20 (589).

[6] In Baluze, *Capitularia Reg. Franc.* I. 7.

[7] Decree of Childebert, A.D. 595, quoted by Gieseler, I. 708, note p.

[8] See pp. 128, 133.

Canonici.

It was in this period that the clergy of a city were first brought to live together in one house, under the presidency and control of the bishop[6]. Some bishops, as Eusebius of Vercellae, Ambrose of Milan, Augustin of Hippo, and Martin of Tours, set an example of monastic austerity to the clergy who were domiciled with them, and the rules which they gave were imitated by others. Such clergy were forbidden to meddle with secular business[7].

Arch-presbyters.

Periodeutæ.

From the fourth century onward the presbyters who had charge of churches were grouped under the presidency and general superintendence of archpresbyters, afterwards called in the West rural deans[8]. The bishops also employed periodeutæ or travelling inspectors—presbyters

---

[1] Jerome, *In Titum* I. 5; *Ad Nepotianum.*

[2] The principle of Leo the Great (*Epist.* 12, c. 5), "Nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur," prevailed also in earlier ages of the Church.

[3] Possidius, *Vita August.* c. 4.

[4] *Statuta Antiqua* (IV. Carthag.), c. 36; IX. *Toletan.* c. 2.

[5] *Novella* 57, c. 2.

[6] *Conc. Tolet.* II. (A.D. 531), c. 1; *Turon.* II. (A.D. 567), c. 12.

[7] *Conc. Aurel.* III. (A.D. 538), c. 11.

[8] W. Dansey, *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales.*

Chorepiscopi.

under their own immediate authority—to take cognizance on their behalf of the parochial clergy. Under these circumstances the chorepiscopi or rural bishops—who had besides sometimes abused their power of ordination—became superfluous and were abolished[1].

PATRIARCHS[2].

3. In the period before the recognition of the Church by the State groups of dioceses had already been formed, and the bishops of certain cities presided over their brethren within a certain district or province, under the name of metropolitans[3]. The political organization of the empire had naturally considerable influence on the constitution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The most remarkable phenomenon in the government of the Church in this period is the rise of the great Patriarchates.

Metropolitans.

At the time of the Council of Nicæa it was clear that the metropolitans of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, held a superior rank among their brethren, and had a kind of ill-defined jurisdiction over the provinces of several metropolitans. The fathers of Nicæa recognized the fact that the privileges of these sees were regulated by customs already regarded as primitive, and these customs they confirmed. Alexandria was to have authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis—an authority of the same kind as that which the Roman bishop had over his subject provinces[4]. In like manner their ancient privileges were secured to Antioch and other super-metropolitan Churches. The empire

Nicæa, 325.

---

[1] *Conc. Antioch.* c. 10 (341); *Laodic.* c. 57 (372?); *Sardic.* c. 6 (347). Compare Basil *Epist.* 54.

[2] D. Blondel, *Traité Historique de la Primauté;* J. Morinus, *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ*, Diss. I, *De Patriarcharum...Origine;* E. Dupin, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Diss. I.; L. Thomassin, *Eccl. Disciplina*, I. i. 7—25; J. Bingham, *Antiq.* II. cc. 16—18; W. C. L. Ziegler, *Pragmat. Gesch. der Kirchl. Verfassungsformen*, p. 164 ff.; G. J. Planck, *Gesch. d. Christl.-Kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfassung*, I. p. 598 ff.

[3] See p. 138.

[4] *Conc. Nicænum*, c. 6, according to the Greek. But the Latin version of this canon which was produced at Chalcedon (actio 16, Hardouin II. 638) runs—"Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum. Teneat autem et Ægyptus ut episcopus Alexandriæ omnium habeat potestatem, quoniam et Romano episcopo hæc est consuetudo." While in the version of Rufinus (Hardouin I. 333) we have, "Et ut apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum solicitudinem gerat." There are also several other variations in the Latin versions of the canon, see Hardouin, I. 325.

was afterwards divided for the purposes of civil government into four Prefectures, as follows[1]: 1. The Prefecture of the East, subdivided into the dioceses of—the East, containing fifteen provinces, and having Antioch for its capital; Egypt, containing nine provinces, with Alexandria as its capital; Asia, containing twelve provinces, with Ephesus as its capital; Pontus, consisting of thirteen provinces, with Cæsarea in Cappadocia as its chief-town; and Thrace, consisting of six provinces, which had its seat of government first at Heraclea, afterwards at Constantinople. 2. The Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum, with Thessalonica for its chief-town, subdivided into the dioceses of Macedonia with seven provinces and Dacia with six. 3. The Prefecture of Italy, subdivided into the dioceses of Rome, with ten "suburbicarian" provinces, and Rome itself for a capital; Italy, with seven provinces and Milan as its capital; Western Illyricum, with seven provinces and Sirmium as its capital; Africa, divided into six provinces, with Carthage as its capital. 4. The Prefecture of the Gauls, again divided into the dioceses of—Gaul, which contained seventeen provinces and had Treves for its capital; Spain, which had seven provinces; and Britain, which had five. The chief-towns of the two last-mentioned dioceses are uncertain. The organization of the Church followed in its main lines that of the empire. It also had its dioceses and provinces, coinciding for the most part with the similarly named political divisions. Not only did the same circumstances which marked out a city for political preëminence also indicate it as a fit centre of ecclesiastical rule, but it was a recognized principle with the Church that the ecclesiastical should follow the civil division[2]. At the head of a diocese was a patriarch[1], at the head of a province was a metropolitan[2]; the territory of a simple bishop was a parish[3]. Thus the civil diocese of the East was, in matters ecclesiastical, under the sway of the patriarch of Antioch; that of Egypt under that of the patriarch of Alexandria; and the bishops of the political capitals, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea, had patriarchal authority over the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. In the second canon of the œcumenical Council of Constantinople, by which the bishops of a "diocese" are forbidden to intrude into the territory of their neighbours, it seems to be assumed that the limits of the political and the ecclesiastical diocese are identical. The same council[4] ordained that the bishop of Constantinople—which had now superseded Heraclea as the seat of diocesan civil government—should have precedence, as bishop of New Rome, next after the bishop of Rome. The bishop of Constantinople not unnaturally desired an increase of power, as well as additional dignity, and his position as bishop of the imperial city enabled him to gain much of what he aimed at. He appears at once to have made himself master of the diocese of Thrace, thrusting aside the bishop of Heraclea, whose city, on the founding of Constantinople, had ceased to be the seat of the imperial government. But, not content with this, he set himself to bring under his jurisdiction the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, which also, helped by his position at court, he did in fact make subject to his sway. This arrangement still lacked the sanction of the Church, when the Council of Chalcedon gave him his opportunity. This council recognized the exclusive right of the bishop of Constantinople to consecrate the metropolitans of Thrace, Pontus and Asia, expressly on the ground

---

[1] On the civil divisions of the empire, the principal authorities are Zosimus, II. 32, 33, and the *Notitia dignitatum* (c. A.D. 400) printed in Grævii *Thesaurus Antiq. Roman.* VII. 1309 ff, and published separately by Böcking (Bonn 1839, 1853) and Seeck (Berlin 1876). See also Becker and Marquardt, *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, III. i. p. 240, and Smith's Gibbon, II. 315. On the diocesan arrangements of the Eastern Church, see J. M. Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. Bk. I.

[2] *Conc. Antioch.* (A.D. 341) c. 9; Chalcedon. (A.D. 451) cc. 12, 17. St Basil, it is true, objected to the province of Cappadocia being divided ecclesiastically simply because it was civilly divided (Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 43, c. 58), but this seems to have been an exceptional case.

A.D. 381.

A.D. 451.

---

[1] A name earlier applied vaguely to any bishop (Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. Πατριάρχης). First used in the stricter sense at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (Socrates v. 8). In *Conc. Chalced.*, c. 9, the prelate of a diocese is called ἔξαρχος. In the acts of the first Council of Ephesus the patriarchs of Rome and Alexandria are several times called ἀρχιεπίσκοποι.

[2] Metropolitans were also called ἔξαρχοι (*Conc. Sardic.* c. 6). The name metropolitan was not used in the West, where the bishop of a province was called archiepiscopus. Patriarchs, metropolitans and other bishops alike write themselves ἐπίσκοποι. See (e.g.) Hardouin I. 1423.

[3] παροικία. See E. Hatch in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Parish.*

[4] *Canon* 3.

that as Constantinople was now the seat of empire it should enjoy the same privileges which Rome had enjoyed as the seat of empire[1]. The once patriarchal sees of Heraclea, Cæsarea and Ephesus thus became simply metropolitan, though their occupants had the title of exarch, and precedence before other bishops of the same diocese. The same council ordered[2] that a bishop or other cleric who had a complaint against his own metropolitan should bring his case before the exarch of the diocese or before the patriarchal throne of the imperial city of Constantinople, so that he might, if he chose, ignore his own exarch altogether. The see of Constantinople thus became the oriental counterpart of that of Rome.

Jerusalem.

The same council had before it the question of the state and dignity of the mother of all Churches, Jerusalem, which had been for some time ambiguous and unsatisfactory. Jerusalem has associations which have in all ages secured it the reverence of Christians, yet it was at the time we speak of too unimportant a see to secure for its bishop a distinguished position in the Church. It was in fact overshadowed by the political chief town of Palestine, Cæsarea, which became the ecclesiastical metropolis. The Council of Nicæa[3] assigned to Jerusalem precedence immediately after the sees of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, but without giving it any power beyond that of an ordinary episcopal throne, Cæsarea being still recognized as having jurisdiction over the other sees of Palestine. The relation thus created was strained and unnatural, and it is no wonder that the bishop of Jerusalem struggled to emancipate himself from the yoke of Cæsarea. The see rose in fame after the peace of the Church under Constantine, in consequence of the increasing reverence paid to the holy places, and at the Council of Ephesus, Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, had the courage to claim for his see patriarchal jurisdiction over Palestine, Phœnicia, and Arabia. This claim was rejected by the council, but he nevertheless obtained from the emperor Theodosius II. a rescript granting to him the provinces which he had claimed. The bishop of Antioch, Maximus, of course regarded this as an attack upon his long-established rights, and a long controversy arose between the two bishops, which was at last put an end to by a compromise which received the sanction of the Council of Chalcedon[1]. This provided that the patriarch of Antioch should receive back his provinces of Phœnicia and Arabia, while the bishop of Jerusalem should possess patriarchal authority over the three provinces of Palestine. He thus became an actual patriarch, though of a small diocese. There were then in the Roman empire, after the practical suppression of the patriarchal rights of the other diocesan thrones, five patriarchal sees, those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Justinian indeed attempted[2] to give to the see of his native city, Achrida, patriarchal authority over the prefecture of Illyricum; but so artificial an arrangement did not long endure. There were however still in Christendom, and even in the empire, metropolitans who acknowledged no patriarch or exarch over them, claiming to be "autocephalous" or independent. Such was the metropolitan of Salamis or Constantia in Cyprus, who at the Council of Ephesus[3] successfully vindicated the ancient rights of his see against the claims of the patriarch of Antioch. And even in Italy the authority of the see of Rome was not everywhere acknowledged.

---

[1] *Conc. Chalcedon.* c. 28 (Hardouin II. 611).

[2] *Canon* 9.

[3] *Canon* 7.

Autocephali.

A patriarch held, within his own diocese, the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and his diocesan synod was the highest court of appeal for ecclesiastical business. Without the consent and coöperation of the patriarchs no valid œcumenical council could be held. But the patriarchal system of government, like every other, suffered from the shocks of time. The patriarch of Antioch had, in the first instance, the most extensive territory, for he claimed authority not only over the civil diocese of the East, but over the Churches in Persia, Media, Parthia, and India, which lay beyond the limits of the empire. But this large organization was but loosely knit, and constantly tended to dissolution. Palestine, as we have seen, shook itself free. In consequence of the Nestorian controversy the

Fate of the Patriarchates.

Antioch.

---

[1] *Actio* 7 (Hardouin II. 491).

[2] *Novellæ* 11 and 131.

[3] *Actio* 7, Hardouin I. 1617 ff.

CHAP. IX. A.D. 498. 527. 638.

Persian Church asserted its independence and set up a patriarch of its own at Seleucia; Armenia somewhat later determined to have its own Monophysite patriarch, and the Syrian Monophysites chose a schismatical patriarch of Antioch. After the conquests of Caliph Omar the great see of Antioch sank into insignificance. The region subject to the Alexandrian patriarch was much smaller than that of Antioch, but it was better compacted. Here too however the Monophysite tumult so shook its organization that it was no longer able to resist the claims of the patriarch of Constantinople. It also fell under the dominion of the Saracens—a fate which had already befallen Jerusalem. In the whole East there remained only the patriarch of Constantinople in a condition to exercise actual authority.

Alexandria. A.D. 640. *Jerusalem.* 637.

ROME.

4. According to Rufinus's[1] version of the sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa, the bishop of Rome had entrusted to him the care of the suburbicarian churches. What we are to understand by these suburbicarian Churches is by no means absolutely clear. Considering however how closely the ecclesiastical followed the civil divisions, it is extremely probable that the suburbicarian Churches are those included in the ten suburbicarian provinces which were under the authority of the vicarius of the civil diocese of Rome, and which included the greater part of Central Italy and the whole of Lower Italy, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; and this interpretation is strongly confirmed by the letter of the Council of Sardica to Julius, bishop of Rome, which recognizes him as the official channel of communication with the faithful in Sicily, Sardinia and Italy[2].

Rise of the Papacy.

But many causes tended to extend the authority of the Roman patriarch beyond these modest limits. The patriarch of Constantinople depended largely for his authority on the will of the emperor, and his spiritual realm was agitated by the constant intrigues of opposing parties. His brother of Rome enjoyed generally more freedom in matters spiritual, and the diocese over which he presided, keeping aloof for the most part from controversies on points of dogma, was therefore comparatively calm and united. Even the Orientals were impressed by the majesty of old Rome, and gave great honour to its bishop. In the West, the highest respect was paid to those sees which claimed an Apostle as founder, and among these the Church of St Peter and St Paul naturally took the highest place. It was, in fact, the one apostolic see of Western Europe, and as such received a unique regard. And the tendency to regard Rome as an ecclesiastical centre and standard was no doubt increased by the fact that in the provincial civil courts of the empire matters not regulated by local law or custom were decided according to the law of the city of Rome[1]. Doubtful questions about apostolic doctrine and custom were addressed certainly to other distinguished bishops, as Athanasius and Basil[2], but they came more readily and more constantly to Rome, as already the last appeal in many civil matters. We must not suppose however that the Churches of the East were ready to accept the sway of Rome, however they might respect the great city of the West. When Julius of Rome, who refused to concur in the deposition of Athanasius, invited him and his opponents to appear by delegates before a council of the Western Church, the Orientals assembled at Antioch declared that he, a foreign bishop, had no right to propose himself as judge in the affairs of the Eastern Church; that every synod was free to decide as it thought best; that the mere fact that he was bishop of a great city gave him no superiority over other bishops of apostolic sees; that his predecessors had never ventured to interfere in the internal affairs of the Eastern Church[3]. But, in spite of this rebuff, the disputes about Athanasius, in the end, undoubtedly tended to strengthen the position of the see of Rome, which sided with the orthodox and victorious party. The Council of Sardica[4], after the secession

---

[1] *H. E.* x. 6, "suburbicariarum ecclesiarum solicitudinem gerat." See p. 181, note 4.

[2] In Hardouin I. 654. See Kurtz's *Handbuch*, § 163. 1.

Appeals.

Antioch, 341.

Sardica, 344 (?)

---

[1] *Digest*, I. iii. 32.

[2] The *Epistolæ Canonicæ* of these and other bishops were occasioned by such appeals.

[3] A summary of their letter is given by Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 8.

[4] c. 3, in Hardouin I. 637. This council, after the secession of the Orientals to Philippopolis, had of course no claim to be considered œcumenical. In the West, however, the canons of Sardica came to be appended to those of Nicæa, and even quoted as Nicene (Maas-

of its Oriental members, gave to bishops who were aggrieved by a provincial decision leave to appeal to Julius, bishop of Rome, meaning no doubt to give to those who were oppressed by Arian synods a protector in one who was a steady friend of orthodoxy. But the precedent was 378. not forgotten. A generation later, at the request of a Roman synod presided over by Damasus, the emperor *Gratian.* Gratian issued a rescript[1] permitting in many cases an appeal from provincial tribunals to the see of Rome. But the decrees of provincial synods were still regarded as *Siricius,* 392. binding. Pope Siricius[2] himself, when appealed to against the decision of a synod at Capua, declared himself incompetent to entertain a question already decided by competent judges; and Ambrose[3], speaking of the same matter, urged that the decision of a judicial committee nominated by the synod was of the same binding force as that of the synod itself.

The See of St Peter. The authority of the Roman see increased from causes which are sufficiently obvious to historical enquirers. But the greatest of the Roman bishops were far too wise to tolerate the supposition that their power depended on earthly sanctions. They contended steadfastly that they were the heads of the Church on earth, because they were the successors of him to whom the Lord had given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, St Peter[4]. And they also contended that Rome was, in the most emphatic sense, the *Innocent I.* A.D. 415, 416. mother-church of the whole West. Innocent I.[5] claims that no Church had ever been founded in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, or the Mediterranean islands, except by men who had received their commission from St Peter or his successors. At the same time, they admitted that

---

sen, *Geschichte der Quellen des Can. Rechts*, I. 50 ff). Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes and Prof. Aloisius Vincenzi (*De Hebræorum et Christianorum Sacra Monarchia*) agree in supposing the so-called canons of Sardica to be forgeries; Prof. Vincenzi supposing them to have been forged by the orthodox bishops in Africa, Mr. Ffoulkes in or near Rome. See *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 530, note 6.

[1] In Hardouin I. 842.

[2] *Epist. de Bonoso Episcopo*, in Hardouin I. 859.

[3] Quoted by Siricius u. s.

[4] It may be observed that the term "vicarius" in early times meant no more than "successor". Cyprian (*Epist.* 68, c. 5) begs Stephen of Rome to honour Cornelius and Lucius, whose "vicarius et successor" he was. The same authority holds that a bishop (sacerdos) should be held "ad tempus judex vice Christi" (*Epist.* 59, c. 5).

[5] *Epist.* 25 *ad Decentium*, c. 2.

Zosimus, 417.

Leo I. 440—461.

the privileges of the see were not wholly derived immediately from its founder, but were conferred by past generations out of respect for St Peter's see[1]. But the bishop who most clearly and emphatically asserted the claims of the Roman see to pre-eminence over the whole Church on earth was no doubt Leo I., a great man who filled a most critical position with extraordinary firmness and ability. Almost every argument by which in later times the authority of the see of St Peter was supported is to be found in the letters of Leo. If the power to bind and loose was conferred on all the Apostles, it was through St Peter that it was transmitted to them[2]. It was to St Peter that power and commandment was given to feed the flock of Christ, and it was in Rome, the place of his burial, that the power given to St Peter was in all ages to be found. So far was the Roman bishop from receiving dignity from the capital of the world, that it was through his presence that Rome became what it was. He conferred honour on the city, but the city gave no dignity to him. It was in the name of St Peter that he, Leo, presided over the Church; it was as God and St Peter prompted him that he gave judgment. He called on the other bishops to help him in the care of all the Churches, but the plenitude of power remained his own peculiar attribute[1]. If however St Peter appears in the forefront, Leo[2] does occasionally bethink him of St Paul, who was, he admits[2], a partner in St Peter's glory at Rome, though he was much occupied with the care of other Churches. Generally, however, from about the middle of the fifth century St Paul is but little spoken of in connexion with Rome.

---

[1] Zosimus *Epist.* 2 *ad Episcopos Afric.* c. 1. Some authorities doubt the authenticity of this letter.

[2] The ancients generally interpreted the "rock" (*πέτρα*) of St Matthew xvi. 18 as referring to St Peter's *confession* (Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and others); or to Christ Himself (Jerome, Augustin). More rarely it was referred to St Peter. Origen (*in Matth.* tom. xii. c. 10) laid down that every disciple of Christ was a "rock"—*πέτρα πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής*—and ridiculed the notion that a "power of the keys" was given to St Peter which was not given to the other Apostles. Somewhat similarly St Augustin held that "has claves non homo unus sed unitas accepit ecclesiæ" (*Serm.* 295, c. 2, *De Sanctis*; compare *in Evang. Joannis* Tract. 124, c. 5). Siricius however asserted that "per Petrum et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo cepit exordium" (*Epist. ad Episc. Afric.* in Hardouin I. 857); and Innocent (*Rescript. ad Conc. Carthag.* in Hardouin I. 1025) describes himself as following the Apostle "a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit." The Roman legates at the Council of Ephesus in 431 (*actio* 3, in Hardouin I. 1477) frankly described St Peter as the foundation (*ὁ θεμέλιος*) of the Catholic Church. Leo maintained (Epist. 10 [al. 89] *ad Episcop. Prov. Vienn.*) that it was through St Peter that the gifts of divine grace were conveyed to the Church; and (*Epist.* 12 [al. 14] *ad Anastasium*, c. 1), that the See of St Peter has the same authority over the whole Church which a metropolitan has over his province (compare Epist. 1 [al. 12] *ad Africanos*).

A.D. 476.

Fall of the Western Empire.

The Empire of the West never seriously interfered with the proceedings of the Roman bishop; and when it fell, the Church became the heir of the empire. In the general crash, the Latin Christians found themselves compelled to drop their smaller differences, and rally round the strongest representative of the old order. The Teutons, who shook to pieces the imperial system, brought into greater prominence the essential unity of all that was Catholic and Latin in the empire, and so strengthened the position of the see of Rome. The Church had no longer by its side one great homogeneous state. The Gothic kings were not inclined to meddle with the internal affairs of the Church. Odoacer[3] indeed issued an edict that no election to the papacy should be held without the sanction of the civil government; but Theoderic[4] laid down the golden rule—little regarded in after times—that he could not exercise sovereignty in matters of religion, because no man can believe upon coercion; and Theodahad[5] held that as God permits diversity in religion, it would be presumptuous in a king to attempt to enforce uniformity.

The Goths and the Papacy.

The East-Gothic dominion in Italy was in fact in more than one respect advantageous to the popes. The kings of the Arian Goths were disposed to befriend them because they were generally in opposition to Constantinople; while at the same time the Catholic people of the West honoured them as their rallying-point against the incursions of Arianism. It is not wonderful that under these circumstances the claims of the popes increased and multiplied. They claimed to be the highest court of appeal for the Western Church, and to have a general authority in matters of faith and discipline over the whole Church throughout the world. In support of these claims they appealed to imperial edicts and canons of councils. They were as anxious as ever to ground their claims on the privileges conferred on St Peter, but they could not always avoid an appeal to the civil power. In the disputed election of Symmachus to the papacy, both he and his rival Laurentius appealed to the Gothic king Theoderic at Ravenna, who placed Symmachus on the apostolic throne[1]. A.D. 498. But, consistently with his principle, he allowed an edict of Odoacer, ordaining that no election to the papacy should be held without the concurrence of the civil government, to be annulled in a Roman synod[2]. A.D. 502. The partizans of Laurentius persisting in their charges against Symmachus, another synod—the "Synodus Palmaris"—was held in the following year, A.D. 503. which acquitted Symmachus, or rather expressed its reluctance to try a *de facto* pope under any circumstances[3]. Ennodius, the official defender of this council, frankly laid down the principle that the occupant of the see of Rome could be judged by none but God[4]. It was probably about this time that forgery and interpolation began to be resorted to with a view of giving to these claims some appearance of antiquity. The Acts of the supposed Council of Sinuessa[5], which desired pope Marcellinus, accused of sacrificing to idols, to judge himself, as being alone competent in such a case, are no doubt a forgery; so is the Constitution attributed to Silvester and Constantine[6], which declares the Roman see above the judgment of any human tribunal; so is the supposed report of the trial of Sixtus III.[7] Cyprian's treatise on the unity of the Church had been altered to suit the views of the Roman see before the time of Pelagius II. It was at this time, too, that the Roman bishops began to claim the title of "pope[8]," which however for some generations was also given to the incumbents of other apostolic sees[1]. But the popes still admitted that they were subject to general councils, nor did they claim jurisdiction over other bishops, unless they were brought before them as the highest court of appeal.

---

[1] See the letter to Anastasius, referred to above.

[2] *Serm.* 82, c. 4.

[3] This edict of Odoacer is only known by the reference to it in the edict which repealed it, Hardouin II. 977.

[4] Cassiodorus, *Variæ*, II. 27.

[5] *Ibid.* x. 26.

---

[1] *Liber Pontificalis*, Symmachus, c. 52.

[2] Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 977 ff.

[3] "Pontificem sedis istius apud nos audiri nullum constat exemplum." Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 974. There is much confusion as to the councils which were held about this time.

[4] *Libellus pro Synodo*, p. 316, Ennodii *Opera*, ed. Hartel.

[5] Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 217. Hardouin says, frankly enough, "suppositium censent viri eruditi."

[6] Hardouin, I. 294.

[7] *Ibid.* I. 1737.

[8] In the Roman synods under Symmachus, and in Ennodius's

So long as the Roman see agreed with them in hostility to Constantinople, the Gothic kings were willing to allow them a large measure of freedom; but when the popes came to an agreement with the see of Constantinople, they became much more suspicious and watchful of their movements. John I. having, contrary to the traditions of his see, paid a visit to Constantinople, where he was received with the utmost distinction, was on his return regarded by Theoderic as a traitor, and thrown into prison, where, after languishing for nearly a year, he died[2]. The kings also interfered actively in the elections to the papacy, and even nominated the person to be elected. Theoderic nominated Felix III.[3], and Athalaric issued an edict against bribery in papal and episcopal elections[4]. Still, even so the Gothic dominion was not so perilous to the papacy as the restoration of imperial rule which followed Justinian's conquest of Italy. Justinian, it is true, paid great respect to the see of Rome; but he paid like honour to that of Constantinople, and was not unwilling to use one against the other. His object was, in short, to extend his own power over Church as well as State. Pope Silverius was deposed and banished by desire of the empress Theodora, Vigilius installed in his place by command of Belisarius; and when Vigilius, after a miserable life, sank into an unhonoured grave, Pelagius was elevated to the see by command of Justinian—an appointment so unpopular, that the new pope was actually unable to induce

A.D. 483.

A.D. 533.

A.D. 535—554.

A.D. 537.

A.D. 555.

Libellus, the bishop of Rome is constantly spoken of as "papa." But even so late as the middle of the ninth century Walafrid Strabo (*De Reb. Eccles.* c. 7) looks upon 'papa' as a respectful name given to the clergy generally, 'clericorum congruit dignitati.' Gregory VII. in the year 1075 first expressly limited the title to the bishop of Rome. In the East the title πάπας was used especially of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Rome.

[1] This title also was not confined to the see of Rome. Pelagius I. (*ad Valerianum*, in Mansi IX. 732) speaks of apostolic sees in the plural.

[2] *Liber Pontificalis*, Joannes, c. 54; Milman's *Lat. Christ.* I. 412

[3] Cassiodorus *Variæ*, VIII. 15.

[4] *Ib.* IX. 15.

three bishops to take part in his consecration[1]. In many ways the popes were made to feel the bitterness of dependence on the Byzantine court. They were forced into heresy, or what seemed to be heresy, and on this account a large part of Italy withdrew from their communion. The sees of Milan and Ravenna were reconciled after a comparatively short interval, but that of Aquileia was more resolute, and it was not until the year 698 that it re-entered into communion with Rome.

A.D. 570—580.

The Lombards. A.D. 568.

The dependence of Rome on Byzantium was brought to an end by the Lombard invasion. The dominions of the Greek empire in Italy were thenceforth limited to Rome, Ravenna, and a part of southern Italy. This province was governed by exarchs seated at Ravenna; the authority of the emperors declined in Rome, and passed almost insensibly to the popes, many of whom were very capable of sustaining it. The Byzantine sovereigns being often too weak to defend their distant province, the Italians had to defend themselves; and at their head in this struggle was the pope of Rome, the person of highest dignity in the city, the natural protector of the Catholics against the Arian Lombards, and the greatest landowner in Italy. For the estates of the see had been growing since the time when Constantine permitted bishops, as such, to receive gifts and legacies, and were in the sixth century of great extent[2]. The prelates of that age appear to have been good landlords, and to have spent their revenues freely for the public good. For twenty-seven years, says Gregory the Great[3], the popes had lived in the midst of Lombard swords, and all that time their income had been drawn upon for the clergy, the monasteries, the poor; for the wants of the people generally and for defence against the Lombards. As was natural, the see gained infinitely in dignity and influence, and became,

Increased authority of the popes.

A.D. 321.

---

[1] Milman, *Lat. Christ.* I. 432 ff. (3rd edn.).

[2] The donation of Constantine to pope Silvester is now universally admitted to be a fiction. The estates of the Roman see were called, after the same fashion as those of other churches, by the name of its patron-saint, "patrimonium S. Petri." See Zaccaria *De Patrimoniis S. Rom. Eccl.* in his *Dissertationes de Rebus ad Hist. pertinentibus*, II. 68 ff.; C. H. Sack *De Patrim. Eccl. Rom. circa finem sæc.* VI. in his *Dissertationes tres*, p. 25 ff.

[3] *Epist.* V. 21 (*Ad Constantinam Aug.*).

in matters ecclesiastical, less and less dependent on the Byzantine court. Under the influence of many causes, the see of Rome had risen to a great and unrivalled position in the West, and at the end of the sixth century the way was prepared for Gregory the Great, with whom a new era begins.

Resistance to Rome.

It must not however be supposed that the views of the Roman bishops as to the authority of Rome were universally accepted even in the West. Many Churches had grown up independently of Rome and were abundantly conscious of the greatness of their own past. Milan, for instance, a great city and the chief town of a civil diocese, always maintained a certain attitude of independence towards Rome, and the authority of so powerful a prelate as Ambrose contributed greatly to render its see practically patriarchal. The see of Ravenna, too, from the time when Honorius, fleeing from the Goths, made that city his capital, was not disposed to acknowledge in Rome a supremacy in ecclesiastical matters which it had ceased to possess politically. And in the African Church the reluctance to submit to Roman dictation which had shewed itself in Cyprian's time was maintained for many generations. A.D. 417. In the Pelagian controversy the Africans firmly opposed Zosimus of Rome, who had taken the side of Pelagius. And when the same Zosimus tried to compel them to reinstate a deprived presbyter, Apiarius, who had appealed to Rome, they were reluctant to obey. In vain he appealed to the canons of Sardica, which he quoted as Nicene; they rejoined that the canons in question were not Nicene, and admonished the bishop of Rome to proceed with more moderation and equity[1]. And when bishop Cælestinus a few years later again urged the restoration of Apiarius, they most emphatically repudiated his authority, A.D. 425. and forbade, under pain of excommunication, any appeal to a foreign bishop. They begged the bishop to consider, whether it was probable that God would grant to an individual a power of correct judgment which He refused to a synod[2]. But the course of events broke the spirit of the African churchmen. Their country was overrun by the Arian Vandals, and in their distress they were glad to cling to such support as they could find in Rome. They were not disposed to dispute the claims of Leo the Great as they had done those of Zosimus.

---

[1] This rejoinder is addressed to Boniface, who had succeeded Zosimus in 418. See *Conc. Carth.* VI. (an. 419) in Hardouin, I. 1242 ff.

[2] See the letter of the African bishops in Hardouin, I. 947 f.

In Gaul too there was a vigorous resistance to the jurisdiction of the see of St Peter. The see of Arles, which was really ancient and claimed to be more ancient than it was, constantly asserted metropolitan rights, which were acknowledged at Rome. One of its most famous bishops, Hilary, felt himself strong enough to resist even Leo the Great, and refused to allow a sentence passed by himself and his provincial synod to be reviewed at Rome[1]. In consequence of this contumacy Leo withdrew, so far as in him lay, the metropolitan privileges of Arles[2], and obtained—for he did not refuse to use the secular power when it was on his side—the famous rescript of the emperor Valentinian III. giving an emphatic supremacy to Rome over all Churches, and enjoining provincial governors to compel the attendance of bishops who might be summoned thither[3]. Practically, however, these proceedings do not seem in the end to have had much effect on the position and authority of the see of Arles[4]. And when the Franks came to be rulers in Gaul, the power of the popes in that country was much weakened; for the bishops were compelled to pay more respect to a liege lord close at hand than to an ecclesiastical superior at a distance who could not protect them from him. Similarly in Spain, after the conversion of the Gothic king to Catholic Christianity[5], the archbishop of Toledo, supported by the civil power, was able to assert a large measure of independence for his province. The British Church, isolated by its position, seems to have had from the first a very loose connexion with Rome[6], and after the withdrawal of the Roman troops, scarcely any.

A.D. 429—449.

A.D. 445.

A.D. 461.

A.D. 589.

---

[1] Honoratus, *Vita Hilarii*, c. 22 (*Acta SS.*, 5 May).

[2] Leonis *Epist.* 10 [al. 89], c. 7.

[3] In Leonis *Opera*, ed. Ballerini, *Epist.* 11.

[4] On the controversy between Rome and Arles, see De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerd. et Imp.* v. 33; Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.* sæc. v. c. 5, art. 8; E. G. Perthel, *Papst Leo's Streit mit d. Bischof v. Arles*, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1843, pt. 3; J. G. Cazenove in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 69 ff.

[5] See *Conc. Tolet.* III. Proœmium.

[6] E. Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ;* J. Inett, *Origines Angli-*

CHAP. IX.

COUNCILS.

5. Ecclesiastical councils were already summoned in the previous period[1], but when the Church was under the protection of the Empire they assumed a more regular and systematic character. There arose a regular gradation of parochial, provincial, diocesan or patriarchal, and finally œcumenical councils.

"Parochial."

In the first place, a bishop assembled round him for deliberation on matters of common interest the presbyters of his "parochia," the modern diocese. At these councils deacons and laymen also attended, with what powers it is not quite certain[2].

Provincial.

Secondly, a metropolitan held councils of all the bishops of his province. The Council of Nicæa enjoined[3] that a provincial council should be held twice every year, to receive appeals from the judgment of individual bishops with regard to excommunications and other matters. It was also a court for the trial of charges against bishops of the province[4], though in troubled times it not unfrequently happened that it was unable to make its authority respected by influential offenders, supported perhaps by the civil power.

Patriarchal.

A yet more important assembly was the council of a patriarchate, a diocese in the old sense of the word. Such a synod, assembled in Constantinople, constituted and ordained Flavian bishop of Antioch[5].

Such were the legislative and judicial assemblies which in ordinary times sufficed for the needs of the Church. But when the whole empire was divided and agitated by dogmatic questions of the highest importance, it was felt that nothing short of a representative assembly of the Church of the whole empire (ἡ οἰκουμένη) could give an authoritative decision. To such a General or Œcumenical Council[6] the bishops of the whole Church were summoned

Œcumenical.

Summoned

---

canæ; J. Pryce, *The Ancient British Church* (London, 1878); Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, vol. I.

[1] See pp. 136 f.; and refer to E. B. Pusey, *Councils of the Church*.

[2] See A. W. Haddan, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 473.

[3] Canon 5. The power of the provincial synod is also recognised in canons 4 and 6.

[4] *Conc. Antioch.* c. 15.

[5] Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 9, p. 206, *sub finem*.

[6] A distinction is frequently drawn between General and Œcumenical. "The term Œcumenical has been consecrated by usage to mean 'a General Council, lawful, approved, and received by all the Church'...To be lawful and truly

by the emperor.

by the emperor[1]. The bishop had always been the constitutional organ of his Church in its relations with other Churches, and no one could be more truly representative of each Church than the man whom his fellow-churchmen had chosen to be their head. Others than bishops were, however, not unfrequently present, as Athanasius—then a deacon—at the first Council of Nicæa.

And it was scarcely possible that such bodies should be called together without at least the assent of the civil power. In the time of which we are treating religious questions were debated with the most eager animosity. The Empire was as keenly excited over the question of our Lord's Divinity or the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit as England is during a general election which is to decide the most momentous political measures. For the sake of maintaining the peace of their dominions, it was necessary for the emperors to exercise some control over the councils which so largely influenced their subjects. And as members of the Church they were bound to consider its welfare. It was, says Eusebius[2], as set up by God to take the general oversight of the Church that Constantine assembled councils of the ministers of God. And Constantine himself[3], addressing a Syrian synod, tells them that he had sent Dionysius, a consular, both to care for the orderly conduct of the council, and to admonish those bishops who were bound to attend that they would incur the emperor's highest displeasure if they failed to obey his summons. Similarly, at a later date the tribune Marcellinus was deputed to regulate and preside over the conference between the Catholics and the Donatists in Africa[4]. The imperial commissioners "generally had the place of honour in the midst before the altar-rails, were first named in the minutes, took the votes, arranged the order of the business, and closed the sessions[5]." In an œcumenical synod the emperor, either in person or by a

Emperor presided,

œcumenical it is necessary that all that occurs should be done regularly, and that the Church should receive it." A. P. Forbes, *Thirty-nine Articles*, I. p. 297.

[1] See L. Andrewes, *Right and Power of Calling Assemblies*, in *Sermons*, v. 160 ff.; and *Tortura Torti*, pp. 193, 422 ff.

[2] *Vita Constantini*, I. 44.

[3] Euseb. *V. C.* IV. 42.

[4] *Gesta Collationis Carthag.*, in Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 1051.

[5] Hefele, quoted in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 479.

representative, took the seat of honour, as Constantine himself did at the opening of the Council of Nicæa. And this imperial presidency was sometimes more than formal. The emperor Marcian in person presided with great applause over the sixth session of the Council of Chalcedon, proposed the questions, and conducted the business[1]. It was however unusual for an emperor to preside in person, and it is a matter much controverted who were the actual presidents in the earlier General Councils. That certain members of the synod were presidents is clear, but by whom they were appointed is very doubtful. At Chalcedon, A.D. 451. however, one of the legates of Rome is repeatedly said to have presided, and their names stand first among those who signed the decrees[2]. And emperors ratified the decrees of the councils which they had called. Constantine commended the decrees of Nicæa to his subjects[3], and the Fathers of Constantinople supplicated Theodosius, as he had honoured them by sending out letters of summons, to complete the graciousness of his act by giving authority to their conclusions[4]. Athanasius, however, repudiates in the strongest terms the notion that the emperor's sanction added anything to the decrees of a council. "When," he asks[5], "did a decision of the Church receive its binding force from the emperor?"

and ratified Decrees.

The earlier assemblies of the faithful had contented themselves with condemning erroneous doctrine; general councils often found themselves compelled to define the true. Hilary of Poictiers[6] looked regretfully back to the time when men were content simply to receive the Word of God, and lamented the necessity which was laid upon his own age of defining the infinite and expressing the inexpressible. It is indeed to be feared that in some cases the combatants fought somewhat at random. When once a partizan spirit was aroused, men were apt to forget that the proper object of their contention was truth, and not merely victory.

---

[1] Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 463 ff. Compare A. W. Haddan, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, pp. 478 f.

[2] A. W. Haddan, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 478; Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 465 ff.

[3] Euseb. *Vita Constant.* III. 17–19; Socrates, *H. E.* I. 9.

[4] *Epist. Conc. Œcumen. II. (Constantinop.* 381) *ad Theodos. Imp.*, in Hardouin, I. 808.

[5] *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, c. 52, p. 845 c. (ed. Colon. 1686).

[6] *De Trinitate*, II. 1.

It might have been supposed that the conclusions of so imposing a body as an œcumenical council would have made strife to cease. In the end this was no doubt the case; the principal dogmatic statements of the great councils have been received into the life of the Church. But at the time when the councils sat, a defeated and disappointed party could always find grounds for cavilling at their decrees, and emperors were invoked, not always in vain, to overrule ecclesiastical synods. The defeated Arians sought the help of the Arian Constantius, and Athanasius[1] makes that emperor address an assembly of bishops at Milan in the words, "What I will, let that be taken for a fixed rule. Obey, or ye shall be driven from the empire." But it was not without indignation that men saw the interference of the emperor in the affairs of the Church. Leontius[2], bishop of Tripolis, though an Arian, reproached Constantius with deserting his proper province, the superintendence of the state and the army, to interfere with matters which properly belonged to the bishops alone.

THE FALL OF PAGANISM[3].

6. While the Church was spreading, growing, and organising itself under its new circumstances, the old heathenism was declining and withering away. When Constantine came into power heathenism still covered the empire; its adherents, however inferior in all that gives life to religion, were probably greatly superior in numbers to the servants of Christ. In the time of Justinian it did but drag on a feeble existence in some carefully concealed den in a great city or among the rude dwellers in some mountain fastness. How was this brought about?

Constantine, 313—337.

It was not by a sudden and violent suppression. The emperor Constantine, whatever were his real sentiments with regard to religion, proceeded very cautiously with regard to paganism. He used his power against it only so far that in the East he converted some almost disused

---

[1] *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, c. 33.

[2] Suidas *s.v.* Λεόντιος, quoted by Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 482, note k.

[3] H. G. Tzschirner, *Der Fall des Heidenthums*, herausg. von M. C. W. Niedner; S. T. Rüdiger, *De statu Paganorum sub Impp. Christ. post Constantinum;* A. Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident;* E. Chastel, *Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient;* Ernst v. Lasaulx, *Untergang des Hellenismus.*

temples into Christian churches, and suppressed certain worships which—like those of Aphrodite and of some Oriental and Egyptian deities—were morally offensive[1]. To acknowledge himself personally a Christian was one thing; to attack the ancient religions of the empire was another. Even on the earliest of his coins the Christian
A.D. 312—317. symbol ☧ appears on his helmet as a kind of personal badge; but it was not until the year 323 that the image
323. of Mars, the tutelary deity of the Roman armies, and the inscription, "Soli invicto comiti," vanished from the imperial coinage. In their place appeared allegorical figures, with inscriptions such as "Spes publica," "Beata tranquillitas," which were not distinctly either pagan or Christian[2]. His new city of Constantinople he endeavoured to preserve from the contamination of paganism[3], though even here the old goddess Rhea and the Fortune of Rome had shrines[4]. At the end of his life he is said to have formally forbidden idolatry. His son Constantius alludes to this in a law of the year 341[5], and it seems to be confirmed by the words of Eusebius and Theodoret[6]. Still, it is remarkable that no such law is to be found in any collection, and some have consequently supposed that it was almost immediately repealed, others that it related only to immoral forms of idolatry, against which the emperor had already begun to wage war[7]. Certainly it was never carried into execution; and the pagan rhetorician Libanius[8], many years later, could appeal to the fact that Constantine had not interfered with the legal ceremonies of the old religions.

Constantine left three sons, the eldest of whom, Constantine II., fell in battle against his brothers. The two
Constans, 337—350. *Constantius,* 337—361. 341. remaining, very inferior to their father in the art of ruling, divided the heritage, Constans becoming Emperor of the West, Constantius of the East. Neither of them kept towards the old religions the same moderation which their father had done. They joined in issuing a severe edict

---

[1] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 54—58.

[2] F. W. Madden, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1277.

[3] Eusebius, *V. C.* iii. 48.

[4] Zosimus, ii. 31.

[5] *Codex Theodos.* xvi. tit. 10, l. 2.

[6] Euseb. *V. C.* ii. 55; cf. iv. 23, 25; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 21.

[7] Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* ii. 45.

[8] *Oratio pro Templis*, 3 (ii. 161, ed. Reiske), τῆς κατὰ νόμους θεραπείας ἐκίνησεν οὐδὲ ἕν.

against paganism[1], but Constans had to act in his own government with caution and discretion, as paganism still retained a firm hold on the people of the West. Thus he forbade[2] the destruction of heathen temples outside the city walls, as being often rather adjuncts of public games than special supports of paganism. A traveller[3] who visited Rome in 347 found there seven vestals still remaining, and the worship of Jupiter, of the Sun, and of the Mother of the gods, still carried on. Constantius was less fettered, as in his portion of the empire paganism was less powerful; and when in 350 the death of his brother left him sole emperor he proceeded against heathen superstitions with great rigour. As the edicts hitherto issued failed to put down heathen practices, in the year 353 he forbade[4] he told heathenish ceremonies under pain of death and confiscation of goods. Prefects who did not enforce the law were to be liable to the same punishments. Only to Rome and Alexandria it was not applied. The emperor himself saw without emotion the old ceremonies still maintained in Rome, and did not interfere with the customs which he found there[5]. But he saw danger to the state in the continued existence of paganism, while the Christians approved of his measures against it, and urged him to further efforts. One effect of the severe laws against paganism was, that many persons came into the Church who, convinced perhaps of the weakness of the heathen deities who endured such insults[6], had no very solid belief in Christ nor much disposition to practise Christian virtues[7]. And some, perplexed by the ceaseless strife of conflicting parties, attempted to frame a religion on the ground of the great truths recognised by all. Such were the Massalians, or "praying people," described by Epiphanius[8] as gathering together, from the time of Constantine, in simple places of prayer, often mere open en-

A.D. 342.

A.D. 347.

A.D. 353.

A.D. 357.

Massaliani, Euchetæ, Euphemitæ.

---

[1] *Cod. Theodos.* lib. XVI. tit. 10, l. 2.

[2] *Codex Theodos.* XVI. 10. 3.

[3] See the anonymous *Vetus Orbis Descriptio*, p. 35 (ed. J. Gothofred), quoted by Gieseler, I. 344, note *o*.

[4] *Codex Theod.* XVI. 10. 4.

[5] See Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 61; given also in Ambrosii *Opera* III. 872 (ed. Benedict.).

[6] Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* III. 57.

[7] *Ib.* IV. 54; Libanius, *Orat. pro Templis* (II. 177, ed. Reiske).

[8] *Hæresis* 80, cc. 1, 2. Cyril of Alexandria (*De Adoratione*, lib. III. (I. 92, ed. Aubert) mentions these as θεοσεβεῖς.

Hypsistarii.

Cælicolæ.

closures, to worship the one God whom they called the All-sovereign[1]; or again in other places meeting at dawn and at sunset, with abundant kindling of lights, uttering chants and songs of praise[2] made by earnest men of their own brotherhood. These worshippers were found principally in Palestine and Phœnicia. A kindred sect existed about the same time in Cappadocia, of which we have some account in Gregory Nazianzen's funeral sermon[3] for his father, who had belonged to it in his youth. These too worshipped only the All-sovereign, the Most High[4], but in their practices they seem to have mingled Parsism and Judaism. They rejected idols and sacrifice, but honoured fire and lights; they reverenced the Sabbath, and observed the Mosaic prescriptions as to clean and unclean meats, while they rejected circumcision. The "Worshippers of Heaven[5]," who appeared at the end of the fourth century in Africa, were probably a kindred sect.

Pagan resistance.

The pagans were now in the condition in which the Christians had been a generation or two earlier—they were persecuted by the civil government. As was natural, they attacked the Church with such weapons as were at their command. They spoke and wrote against Christianity; what was good and true in it was, they said, borrowed from the old philosophers; what it had of its own was superstition. Nay, sacred things were even burlesqued in the theatres[6]. And the disputes among Christians about matters which were to the heathen unintelligible did not incline them to look favourably on their religion. Heathenism long kept its hold on the schools and on literature. Heathens taught rhetoric at Athens and philosophy at Alexandria. The principal orators of the time were still heathens, like Libanius, the teacher of John Chrysostom. Neoplatonism sought to rejuvenize paganism, to defend it philosophically, to cover its immoral myths with a decent cloak of allegory. In this way unstable spirits were sometimes attracted and drawn aside[1].

---

[1] Παντοκράτορα, the word used in the first clause of the Nicene Creed.

[2] Εὐφημίαι, whence the name Εὐφημῖται.

[3] *Orat.* 18 [al. 19], c. 5. See K. Ullmann, *Gregory of Nazianzum*, tr. by Cox.

[4] Τὸν ὕψιστον, whence the name Hypsistarii.

[5] *Codex Theod.* XVI. 5, 43, and 8, 19; laws of 408 and 409.

[6] Euseb. *V. C.* II. 61; Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* I. p. 34.

Julian emperor, 361—363.

In the latter half of the fourth century the hopes of the pagans experienced a sudden revival. Julian[2], the son of Julius Constantius younger brother of the great Constantine, had been brought up as a Christian among men whose Christianity was little likely to attract a very imaginative boy. It was probably his dreamy temperament, as it seemed unlikely to lead him to strive for preeminence in the empire, which saved him from the watchful jealousy of his cousin Constantius, who—Christian as he thought himself—had no scruple in removing any one who stood in his way. When in early manhood he studied at Athens, his fellow-student Gregory of Nazianzus[3] foreboded the misery which he was destined to bring on the Empire; while the pagan teacher Libanius thought that his profession of Christianity hung upon him like an ass's skin on a lion. Julian was evidently fascinated by the beauty and naturalness of the Greek classical literature much as many Italian princes of the Renascence were, but we must not suppose that he adopted the myths and opinions of popular paganism. This was hardly possible in that age and with his training. It was with paganism as it appeared in the allegories of the Neoplatonists, and in the mysteries which were the delight of the initiated, that he was in love; a paganism which gave its main worship to one supreme deity, and regarded the gods of the Pantheon as mere personifications of his varied attributes. The Christianity of the house of Constantine repelled him, as indeed it could scarcely fail to do.

A.D. 356.

Sent, still young and inexperienced, to preside in Gaul, then torn by intestine divisions and harassed by the

---

[1] Gregory of Nazianzus complains (*Orat.* xx. p. 331; xliii. p. 787) of the injurious influence of the schools at Athens.

[2] On Julian, see S. Johnson, *Julian the Apostate* (London, 1682); A. Neander, *der Kaiser Julian u. sein Zeitalter* (trans. by G. V. Cox); V. Teuffel, *De Juliano Christianismi contemptore et osore;* D. F. Strauss, *Der Romanticer auf dem Throne der Cäsaren;* C. Semisch, *Julian der Abtrünnige;* J. F. A. Muecke, *Flavius Claudius Julianus;* F. Rode, *Geschichte der Reaction K. Julians gegen die Christl. Kirche;* H. A. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et sa Philosophie de Polytheisme;* G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian* (Cambridge, 1879), gives an excellent bibliography of the subject; J. Wordsworth, in *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* iii. 484 ff.

[3] *Oratio* v. pp. 161 f.

Teutonic tribes on the frontier, in four years he pacified the country and secured it for the time from external invasion[1]. His success, while it endeared him to the provincials and the army, excited the jealousy of his cousin the emperor, and, to save his own life, he was compelled to lead his army against that of Constantius. The mastership of the empire hung in doubt, when Constantius fell sick and died in the neighbourhood of Tarsus. A.D. 361. Julian, the next heir, was generally accepted as his successor, and in December of the same year made his entry into Constantinople[2].

Julian's measures against the Church.

As ruler of the Roman world Julian could not but give effect to the convictions which had mastered him. Even on his march through Illyria against his cousin he had caused the temples of the national deities to be opened and their worship resumed. Fairly on the throne, he proclaimed general freedom of worship, and exhorted every one frankly to confess the faith that was in him, and to live in accordance with it[3]. But with all his professed regard for religious equality, he looked upon himself as chosen by the gods to restore the old religions in the empire. He was too wise to proceed against Christianity by the method of blood and iron which had already so signally failed, but he set in motion a more light-handed persecution which might in time have produced important effects. Paganism was restored to almost all its old privileges. *Endowments.* An edict was issued for the restoration to the temples of their confiscated endowments, most of which had been transferred to Christian churches. Much trouble and litigation ensued. The Christian clergy lost its privileges, payments to Christian churches from the public funds were withdrawn, the philosophic emperor alleging that he did the Christians no wrong in conferring on them the blessing of poverty. *Classical literature forbidden.* He forbade the use of classical literature in Christian schools, on the ground—no doubt ironical—that it was unseemly that books written by men who served the old heathen deities should be expounded by those who believed the gods of Greece to be mere evil demons, misleading the minds of men[4]. As

---

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, libb. XVI, XVII.

[2] Amm. Marcellinus, XXII. 2, 3.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII. 5.

[4] Juliani *Epist.* 42; Orosius, *Hist.* VII. 30; Socrates, *H. E.* III.

Christianity had not yet produced a philosophic literature of its own, he was aware that his edict, if carried into effect, would separate the rising generation of Christians from the highest culture of their time. He had a great contempt for much that he saw in the Christianity of his time, but he had not lived in the midst of it without finding something in it which was lacking in heathendom. He was conscious of a moral and spiritual power in the religion of Christ which he would fain have transferred to paganism. He recommended in the strongest terms to his pagan subjects brotherly love and mutual helpfulness; the priests of his religion, in particular, he exhorted to lead pure and beneficent lives[1]; but he rejected with scorn the "Galilæan" who was the source of the virtues which he admired.

The effect, however, of Julian's proceedings was probably much less than he had expected. The pagans doubtless walked with a prouder step, and it is to be feared that some professing Christians joined the religion of the court. The fierce dissensions among Christians no doubt encouraged their enemies to hope that the time of their dissolution was at hand. But in fact the restoration of paganism made little progress. Julian himself complained that few offered sacrifice, and those only to please him; there was no love for the old gods. And in truth the emperor's own personality did not give dignity and impressiveness to his religion. He was no pagan of the old type, vigorous and healthy in mind and body. He was rather an ascetic professor, careless about his dress and his person, and with an odd manner which suggested nervous disorder[2]. But what he might have effected in a long reign must remain unknown. In the midst of his reforms he marched against the Persians, carrying on a war which Constantius had bequeathed to him, and fell in battle bravely fighting and encouraging his hard-pressed troops, when he had reigned little more than a year and a half. With him fell the hopes of a pagan revival. The Galilæan had indeed conquered. Well had the banished Athanasius

Julian's death, June 26, 363.

---

11 ff.; Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 16 ff.; Theodoret, *H. E.* III. 8 ff.

[1] See his letter to Arsacius, in Sozomen, *H. E.* v. 16.

[2] Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* v. c. 23.

prophesied of Julian, that he would pass away like a cloud.

A kind of awe fell upon the army at the death of Julian. None of the pagan generals were willing to succeed him, and the army chose Jovian, a Pannonian, who was so zealous a Christian that his religion had brought him into discredit with the late emperor. He however died before he reached Constantinople, and another Pannonian, Valentinian, was chosen by the soldiery to succeed him. He, with their assent, shared the imperial dignity with his brother Valens, to whom he entrusted the command of the Eastern portion of the empire, while he himself took charge of the West. Valentinian was too much occupied with the wars and troubles of his time to interfere much with the affairs of religion, but Valens, a decided Arian, was guilty of great cruelty towards those who opposed him. Valentinian was succeeded in the Empire of the West by his two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II, the latter a child of four years old. The real control rested of course with the former, who after the death of Valens associated with himself the Spaniard Theodosius, a worthy fellow-countryman of Trajan, as Emperor of the East. Gratian was under the influence of the greatest prelate of the West, Ambrose of Milan[1]. First of the Roman emperors, he renounced the dignity of Pontifex Maximus[2], and withdrew from the Vestal virgins, on whom the very existence of the city was thought to depend, the privileges and the endowments which the Christian emperors had hitherto respected[3]. After Gratian's death, Valentinian caused the altar of Victory to be removed from the vestibule of the senate-house at Rome. This venerable altar, with its statue of the winged Victory, had been placed there by Augustus, and before it for many generations the senators had taken their oath of fealty to the state. It had been removed by Constans, but Julian had restored it to its place. The removal of an object so long

Jovian, emp. 363.

Valentinian emp. 364—375.

Gratian, 375—383; *Valentinian II.* 375—392. *Theodosius, Emp. of East,* 379—394; *sole ruler,* 394—395.

A.D. 382.

A.D. 384.

---

[1] C. Merivale, *Early Church History*, pp. 19 ff.

[2] Zosimus, IV. 36. On the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, see J. A. Bosius, *De Pontificatu Maximo Impp. Christ.*, in Grævii *Thesaurus*, v. 271 ff.; De la Bastie, *Du Souverain Pontif. des Emp. Rom.*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript.* XV. 75 ff.; J. Eckhel, *Doct. Numm. Vett.* 386 ff.

[3] Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 61; Ambrose, *Epist.* 17; *Codex Theod.* XVI. 10. 20.

venerated, and associated with so long a line of successes, could not fail to rouse the deepest emotion in the adherents of the old faith. These had a worthy representative in the consular Symmachus, the prefect of the city, who addressed the emperor in words which are not without a certain pathos, begging him earnestly to leave to the senate-house its chief ornament, to permit senators who had now grown old to hand on to their descendants the emblem of good fortune which had been committed to them in their youth, to leave undisturbed the form of worship under which they had driven Hannibal from their walls and, in victory after victory, subdued the world. The humility of Symmachus's appeal shews the great change which had come over the great city; the once dominant and arrogant heathenism pleads for the toleration of a single observance. It pleaded in vain. Ambrose insisted that the Christian faith forbade the restoration of the altar, and the emperor decided that what the Christian faith required should be done[1].

Theodosius I., 379—395.

Idolatry forbidden, 392.

Theodosius I., one of the greatest rulers of the declining empire, did much to complete the work which was begun under Constantine. When he, after the death of Valentinian II., became sole ruler of the empire, he forbade in the most emphatic terms all sorts and conditions of men to offer sacrifice to senseless idols, or even to practise private worship before the domestic shrines. To pour a libation of wine to the tutelary genius or to hang a garland before the penates was made criminal[2], though heathen worship still lingered in Rome[3] and Alexandria. But the zeal of Christian mobs had outrun the legislation of the emperors. Already many temples had been destroyed[4]. Some few were turned into churches, but generally Christians had too great a horror of spots once dedicated to the worship of demons to permit such a transformation. The statues of the deities were broken to fragments. In vain Libanius pleaded with his country-

---

[1] Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 61; Ambrose, *Epist.* 17 and 18 *ad Valentinianum;* cf. *Epist.* 57 *ad Eugenium.* There is a good account of the controversy between Symmachus and Ambrose in Villemain's *Eloquence Chrétienne*, pp. 514 ff. (ed. 1858).

[2] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10, 12.

[3] Zosimus, iv. 59.

[4] Libanius, *Pro Templis*, pp. 162, 168, 192 ff. (ed. Reiske); Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 15; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 21.

St Martin, 375—400.

Africa, 399.

Honorius's edicts, 399.

men to spare the temples as monuments of art and ornaments of the towns; the destruction went on. St Martin of Tours was especially active in promoting the destruction of temples in his neighbourhood, not without vigorous opposition from the inhabitants[1]. And the African bishops in the year 399[2] supplicated the emperors to remove the remains of idolatry from Africa, and to destroy at any rate those temples which, being in remote places, served no purpose of ornament. But the emperor Honorius, dreading perhaps the wrath of the pagans, who were still numerous and attributed every public misfortune to the neglect of the ancient deities, tried to restrain the zeal of the Christians, and put forth two edicts[3], to the effect that popular festivals were not to be interfered with, and that temples which had been cleared of superstitious objects were not to be destroyed. The Goths, however, under Alaric, who had none of the old Roman respect for antiquity, destroyed ruthlessly. It was when Arcadius was emperor that the Vandal Stilicho caused the Sibylline books to be burned; the Rome of the Sibyl was indeed near its end.

A.D. 409.

Hypatia murdered, 416.

As was natural, heathendom lingered longest among the country folk (pagani) of remote districts, slow to receive new ideas, and so the word "paganus came to be equivalent to heathen[4]." But it was not only among unlettered labourers that Christianity was slow to find admission; many old families prided themselves on belonging still to their ancestral religion. In the last agony of the Western Empire, when Alaric was before the walls of Rome, the pagans in the senate determined to sacrifice on the Capitol and in other temples[5]—a proceeding connived at, says a pagan historian[6], by Pope Innocent himself. And many of the philosophic class clung to the new paganism, or at any rate refused Christianity. One of the most famous of these was Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon. This lady was a distinguished teacher of the Neoplatonic school at Alexandria, and was thought to have great influence with Orestes, the prefect of the city, who was not on good terms with Cyril, the bishop. Whatever may have been the immediate cause, she was seized one day by a rabble of Christians, and dragged from her carriage into a neighbouring church, where she was killed with potsherds, and her body, torn limb from limb, carried out and burnt. This deed, says Socrates[1], a Christian witness, brought grievous shame on Cyril and the Church in Alexandria, where all men respected the talent and the modesty of Hypatia.

---

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*, cc. 13—15.

[2] *Codex Eccl. Africanæ*, c. 58.

[3] *Codex Theod.* xvi. 10. 17, 18.

[4] *Codex Theodos.* xvi. 7. 2; 10. 20. "Quos usitato nomine paganos vocamus," Augustin, *Retract.* ii. 43.

[5] Sozomen, *H. E.* ix. 6.

[6] Zosimus, v. 41.

Until the reign of Justinian nothing was added to the laws against paganism. Sacrifice remained forbidden, and either ceased altogether, or was celebrated in secrecy and silence. Pagan celebrations were no longer public and national, but the mysteries of adepts. In Rome itself, however, heathen practices long retained a kind of publicity. Even in the middle of the fifth century Salvian[2] complained that the sacred fowls were still kept by the consuls, and auguries still sought from the flight of birds. And at a yet later date the festival of the Lupercalia, perhaps as old as the city itself, and intended as a purification of the primitive settlement on the Palatine, was still celebrated, and was thought to give fertility to the land, to its flocks, its herds, and its human inhabitants. Pope Gelasius issued a decree[3] against it. The Romans dreaded the curse of infertility if the usual propitiations were unperformed, but the bishop was resolute, and threatened to excommunicate the whole city if his decree was disobeyed. The rude festival came to an end, and it has sometimes been supposed that the Christian feast of the Purification, held in the same month, was designed to take its place[4]. Justinian resolved to put an end to whatever remained of heathenism. For this purpose he sought to crush the non-Christian philosophy which nourished pagan modes of thought. He closed the philosophic schools of Athens[5], which had been for centuries a kind of

Salvian, c. 440.

Lupercalia suppressed, c. 492.

Justinian.

Athenian schools closed, 529.

---

[1] *H. E.* vii. 15.

[2] *De Gubernatione Dei,* vi. 2 (p. 127, ed. Pauly).

[3] *Adv. Andromachum Senatorem,* in Mansi, viii. 95 ff.

[4] Durandus, Beleth, Baronius and Pope Benedict XIV. adopt this supposition; see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* p. 1141.

[5] Joh. Malala, *Hist. Chron.* pt. ii. p. 187 (ed. Hody).

533.

university. Many of the philosophers took refuge under the more tolerant sway of the Persian king[1], who, when he was able to make terms with the emperor, stipulated that they should be allowed to return to their own country. The schools however remained closed. But Justinian was not satisfied with forbidding pagan observances; he ordered that his subjects should be baptized[2], on pain of confiscation and exile—a violation of the rights of conscience which had hitherto been unknown. The patrician Photius sought death itself rather than submit to the Christian rite[3]—one of the few martyrs of paganism, if a suicide may bear that name.

Slavonic invasion, 578—589.

From this time there was in the Empire but little open and avowed paganism, whether in East or West. An important part of the Empire however, including Macedonia, Thessaly, Hellas, and the Peloponnesus, was soon after Justinian's time overrun by a swarm of Slavonic tribes, who introduced their own form of paganism and maintained it until the ninth century. And the Mainotes in Peloponnesus, secure in their mountains and their poverty, continued to worship Poseidon and Aphrodite until Basil the Macedonian in the ninth century compelled them to conform to Christianity[4]. In Sicily, in Sardinia, and in Corsica there were many heathens at the end of the sixth century, and for these even Gregory the Great did not hesitate to recommend such methods of conversion as flogging and imprisonment[5]. But in general it may be said that after the time of Justinian heathen practices either vanished altogether or were disguised under Christian names.

Fall of Rome, 410.

Augustin De Civitate Dei.

It was in the great crash of the Roman world, when Alaric and his Goths were ravaging the West, when men's hearts were failing them for fear, and many said that the desertion of the old gods, under whose auspices Rome had conquered the world, was the cause of the present misfortunes, that Augustin wrote his great work on the City of God. Of this he himself gives[6] the following account.

---

[1] Agathias, *De Imp. Justiniani,* II. 30. See Wesseling, *Observat. Variæ,* I. 28.

[2] *Codex Justin.* I. 11 (*De Paganis*), l. 10.

[3] Gibbon's *Rome,* c. 47 (VI. 37, ed. Smith).

[4] Constant. Porphyrog. *De Administr. Imp.* c. 50.

[5] Greg. *Epistt.* III. 62; IV. 26; V. 41; VIII. 1; IX. 65.

[6] *Retractationes,* II. 43.

It consists of twenty-two books. In the first five he sought to refute those who asserted that temporal prosperity depended on the due payment of worship to the many gods of the Gentiles; in the next five, those who, admitting that no form of religion could avert the misfortunes which were the lot of humanity, contended that polytheism was necessary to secure happiness in the world to come. In the remaining books he passes from refuting his adversaries to developing the positive side of his faith in God's government of the world. In the first four books of this second part he describes the rise of the two kingdoms, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world; in the next four their spread and progress; in the last four, the purposes which they severally subserve. The heathen, he indignantly observes, far from complaining of Christianity, ought to be grateful to it for the protection which it had given them. When, in the whole history of the pagan world, had it been heard that the victors had spared the vanquished for the sake of the gods of the vanquished? But in the sack of Rome the Christian shrines had been found a safe refuge from the Gothic soldiery. They were not to think that a catastrophe such as the fall of Rome was to be regarded with despair; it was but the passage from the old order to the new, the painful birth of a better age[1]. The same God who had caused the Romans, still pagan, to rise to such a height of empire, could under the yoke of Christ give them a better kingdom[2]. And Orosius[3], who, at Augustin's instigation wrote a sketch of the history of the world with the intention of vindicating the ways of God to man, saw even more clearly than his master that the barbarians were beginning a new era, and that future generations would look back to rude warriors of that day as kings and founders of kingdoms. Salvian[4] saw the manifest judgment of God in the success of the Teutonic tribes. They increase, he said, day by day, we decrease; they are lifted up, we are cast down; they flourish, we are withered. And he found a reason for this superiority in the greater social purity of the Goths and Vandals. What hope, he exclaims, can there be for the Roman state when

Orosius.

---

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, I. 1 f.; II. 2.

[2] *Sermo* 105; *De Civ. Dei*, IV. 7, 28; V. 23.

[3] *Hist. adv. Paganos*, VII. 39, 41.

[4] *De Gubernatione Dei*, VII. 11, 23.

the barbarians are more chaste and pure than the Romans? Nay rather, when there is chastity among the barbarians and none among ourselves. Such were some of the thoughts called forth by the fall of heathendom and of the great heathen city which had been enabled for so long a time to rule the nations. Faithful souls saw in the calamities which then fell upon the earth at once the punishment of sin and the hope of better things to come.

CHAPTER X.

THEOLOGY AND THEOLOGIANS.

Chap. X.

Literary Character[1].

1. The fourth century, which gave to the Church power and dignity, brought also a great accession of literary activity. In the Greek Church especially the exposition of Scripture was steadily prosecuted and Christian eloquence largely developed. General culture still remained classical. If some of the Christian writers had their genius nursed in the solitude of the desert, many shared in the highest education of their time. The school of Athens still flourished. There were to be found philosophers who were ready to initiate disciples into the mysteries of Neoplatonism, sophists who taught the dialectic art, grammarians who expounded the great writers who were the glory of ancient Greece. There some of those who were afterwards to adorn Greek theology studied under the guidance of the most illustrious teachers of paganism. But the general feeling towards the great pagans was in this age very different from that which had animated Clement of Alexandria and the early apologists. These sought in the ancient documents of heathendom for traces of the working of the ever-present Word; the Christian writers of the second period, while many of them were fully conscious of the intellectual greatness and the perfect form of the Greek and Latin models, were yet torn with scruples if they gave to them an eager and admiring study. Jerome

Athens.

Influence of the Classics.

Shrinking from Paganism.

---

[1] Full accounts of the authors of this period are to be found in Dupin's *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccl.*, Ceillier's *Hist. Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Eccl.*, Cave's *Scriptorum Eccl. Hist. Literaria*, Fessler's *Institutiones Patrologiae*, Alzog's *Grundriss der Patrologie*, and other Patrologies.

was filled with horror and remorse for the ardent study and admiration which he had given to Cicero; Augustin deplored the "wine of error" which was given to the young Christian to drink in the choice words of the ancient writers[1]. Such men were conscious that a spirit which was not that of Christ underlay the beauty of the old world.

Chalcedon, 451.

But in spite of this feeling, we are conscious that Christian literature shines with the evening-glow of classical culture up to about the middle of the fifth century. The Council of Chalcedon seems to mark an epoch. The long dogmatic controversies, though they caused much writing, were not favourable to the quiet cultivation from which the best literature proceeds. As is natural, there is found a correspondence between the general culture of any period and its theology, for theology arises from the application of the intellect to revealed truth. Christian truth came into contact with philosophy both as a friend and as an enemy; in both characters it received an influence. And when Greek philosophy came to an end, all the vigour and originality of Christian theology came to an end with it[2]. Men like Athanasius and Basil are found no more after the middle of the fifth century. And the barbarian invaders of the Empire destroyed much of the old social life. In the end, they produced the great literature of modern Europe; but at first the Teutons were a destructive rather than a creative force. Whatever the cause, about the middle of the fifth century a great change came over Christian literature. The vigorous intellectual life of an earlier period was lost in dulness or tawdriness. We see no longer the spirit of enquiry and philosophy; literature contents itself with bringing together and epitomizing old matter, with a view rather to edification than to the extension of knowledge. So utterly did even a Roman of high rank come to despise the graces of style, that Gregory the Great exults, in the manner of a modern Puritan, that he had no need to trouble himself with the rules of Donatus[3]; and he is very indignant with

Want of Original-ity.

Compilers and Epitomators.

Contempt for Style.

---

[1] *Confess.*, I. 26.

[2] See Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, IV. 2, p. 20 ff.

[3] *Epist. ad Leandrum*, prefixed to the Exposition of Job. Donatus was a well-known Roman grammarian, who was Jerome's teacher.

Desiderius of Vienne for having ventured to lecture on some of the classical writers[1]. The story told by John of Salisbury[2], that he burned the ancient treasures of the Palatine library, is perhaps not worthy of belief. It was a highly significant sign that original literature and frank discussion had ceased when pope Hormisdas—if it was he —put forth a list of books[3] which the faithful were not permitted to read. Most of these are however really heretical or falsely attributed to the persons whose name they bear.

Prohibited books,
514 (?).

Schools of Thought.

We find everywhere the two great principles of human nature in perpetual conflict. On the one hand, respect for authority, dread of change, desire to maintain the state of things in which each man finds himself. On the other, more reliance on the powers which God has given to man, more hopefulness, more readiness to leave the things which are behind and to press forward to those which are before. To speak generally, we may say that the Latin Church took the conservative side, the Greek that of free discussion and enquiry. But this description is by no means complete and exhaustive. The Churches were separated by no impassable barrier; much respect for authority was found in the East, and some free enquiry in the West.

SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH[1].

2. The great representative in the East of the freer tone in matters of dogma and exegesis was the School of Antioch[4]. It owes its origin, no doubt, to the impulse given by Origen to theology, but it ran an independent course. Instead of the Origenistic allegorizing of the Bible, in the School of Antioch the leading men insisted on the necessity of grammatical and historical exposition[5]. Not that they rejected type and allegory, but that they insisted that all edifying exegesis must be founded on an

---

[1] *Epist.* XI. 54 *ad Desiderium.*

[2] *Policraticus,* II. 20; VIII. 19.

[3] In *Decretum* Gratiani, P. I. Dist. XV. c. 3; Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 940. It is commonly ascribed to Gelasius (494), but it is doubtful whether it is really older than the eighth century. See W. E. Scudamore, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* II. 1721, s.v. *Prohibited Books.*

[4] See p. 67. Special treatises on the Antiochene School are Münter, *Die Antioch. Schule,* in Stäudlin und Tzschirner's *Archiv,* vol. I. pt. 1; C. Hornung, *Schola Antiochena;* Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antioch. Schule auf Exeget. Gebiet;* Hergenröther, *Die Antioch. Schule.*

[5] Τοῦ ἀλληγορικοῦ τὸ ἱστορικὸν πλεῖστον ὅσον προτιμῶμεν, says Diodorus, quoted by Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* II., p. 78 note.

accurate understanding of the words of Scripture in their literal and historical sense, which the allegorists pure and simple altogether disregarded. "The authority of Christ Himself and of His Apostles encourages us to search for a deep and spiritual meaning under the ordinary words of Scripture, which however cannot be gained by any arbitrary allegorizing, but only by following out patiently the course of God's dealings with man[1]." This was the principle of the Antiochenes. They looked to reason rather than to authority to explain and develope dogma, taking their stand on Scripture. They were anxious that the human element in the Lord Himself, in His Word, and in His Church, should receive the consideration which it sometimes seemed in danger of losing. In this effort it is not to be denied that some of them took too little account of the divine element, and failed to grasp the full significance of the work of Christ as Incarnate Saviour and Redeemer. The influence of this school was great in the East during the fourth and fifth centuries, and when it grew weak in its early home the Antiochene Cassian planted an offshoot in Gaul.

Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, died, 360.

A very noteworthy figure in the School of Antioch is Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, of whom Jerome[2] wrote that his elegant and forcible style caused him to be much studied by those who wished to distinguish themselves in popular oratory. In the fragments which remain of his numerous works Eusebius appears as a representative of those who thought that much of the theological dissension of his time arose from the morbid desire to know more than Scripture had revealed. "Confess," he says, "that which is written of the Father and the Son, and do not require that which is not written." "If a dogma is not in Scripture let it not be taught; if it is in Scripture, let it not be extinguished[3]." His desire to avoid adding to Scripture propositions of man's device seems to have perplexed his contemporaries, for while Jerome[4] describes him as a ringleader of the Arians, Socrates[5] and Sozomen[6] agree in saying that he was suspected of holding Sabellian opinions.

---

[1] B. F. Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 382.

[2] *Catalogus*, c. 91.

[3] See Hase, *Kirchengeschichte auf Grundlage Akadem. Vorlesungen*, I. 502.

[4] *Chronicon*, ad ann. X Constantii.

[5] *H. E.* II. 9.

[6] *H. E.* III. 6.

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, 350—386.

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem[1], lived through the greater part of the eventful fourth century. Once suspected of heretical opinions, he was persecuted by the Arian emperor Valens for his adherence to orthodoxy, and was among those who sat at the Council of Constantinople in 381. The Catechetical Lectures which he delivered while still a presbyter in Jerusalem, the first part of the series to those who were preparing for baptism, the latter part to the newly baptized, are a most valuable record both of the instruction which it was thought necessary to give to those who came to be baptized, and of the state of the liturgy of Jerusalem at the time when they were delivered.

Catecheses, 347.

Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, 378—390 (?)

But the most flourishing period of the Antiochene School begins with Eusebius's pupil Diodorus[2], who in the year 378 was consecrated by Meletius to the see of Tarsus[3]. He wrote commentaries on many of the books of the Old Testament, giving his principal attention to the actual words of Scripture and disregarding allegory in his desire to reach the true historical sense of the text[4]. He seems however to have fully recognised the divine element in the typical events of the sacred history. He was an energetic defender of the orthodox faith against the Arians, and taught John Chrysostom his principles of Scripture interpretation.

St John Chrysostom, born c. 347.

John[5], sometimes called from his see John of Constantinople, and afterwards, from his splendid eloquence, John of the Golden Mouth, Chrysostomos, was born about the year 347 at Antioch, of distinguished family both on his father's and his mother's side. His father died while the son was yet a child, and the young widow Anthusa, devoting herself to the education of her son, implanted in his infant mind the seeds of that earnest piety which he never lost. His early training under the pagan rhetorician Libanius, who regretted that the Christians had stolen his most promising pupil[1], in no way injured his faith in Christ. After he had for a short time practised as an advocate with so much success that the highest offices seemed open to him, he withdrew from the turmoil of a worldly life, and devoted himself to reading and meditating on Holy Scripture. Meletius, bishop of Antioch, seeing how highly gifted he was, instructed him in the great Christian verities, baptized him, and ordained him to the office of reader. When in the troublous year 370 Meletius and several of the neighbouring bishops were deposed, it was hoped that John would be induced to fill one of the vacant sees. He however avoided the unquiet dignity which he induced his friend Basil to accept. A few years later, his mother being probably dead, he joined a community of monks in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where he thought he had found a harbour of refuge from the rough waves of this troublesome world. Here, in company with men likeminded, such as Theodore, afterwards of Mopsuestia, he devoted himself to the ascetic life and the study of the Bible under the guidance of the learned Diodorus, afterwards bishop of Tarsus, and Carterius[2], until about the year 380. To this period belong his earliest writings. His health having broken down under the severity of his ascetic practices he returned to Antioch, where Meletius, now restored to his see, ordained him deacon, and his successor Flavian promoted him to the priesthood, giving him special permission to preach in the cathedral church. His reputation rose to the highest pitch when in the following year he preached a course of sermons to encourage the people of Antioch when they were dreading the emperor's vengeance for a tumult in which his statues had

---

[1] W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 211; Cölln in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encycl.* vol. 23, s.v.: J. van Vollenhoven *De Cyrilli Catechesibus;* H. Plitt, *De Cyr. Oratt. Catechet.;* J. H. Newman, Pref. to translation in the *Library of the Fathers;* E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 760.

[2] Jerome, *Catal.* 119; W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 266; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 836; L. Diestel, *Gesch. d. Alt. Test.* 128.

[3] Theodoret *H. E.* v. 4.

[4] Socrates *H. E.* v. 3; Sozomen VIII. 2.

[5] Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joh. Chrys.*, in Montfaucon's Chrysost. *Opera*, vol. 13; Socrates *H. E.* VI. 3—21; Sozomen VIII. 2—23; Theodoret *H. E.* v. 27—31; Isidore Pelus. *Epistt.*—Lives by Montfaucon (Chrys. *Opera*, XIII. 91 ff.), Cave (*Lives of the Fathers*, III. 237 ff.), Neander (*Der Heilige Chrysostomos*), Am. Thierry (*St Jean Chrys. et l'Imp. Eudoxie*), Böhringer (in *Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen*, vol. IX. 2nd ed.), W. R. W. Stephens (*St Chrysostom, his Life and Times*), F. H. Chase (*Chrysostom, a Study in the Hist. of Biblical Interpretation*), R. W. Bush (*Life and Times of St Chrysostom*, R.T.S.), F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, II. 615 ff.

Baptized c. 369.

In retirement, c. 374.

Priest, 386.

Sermons "on the Statues," 387.

---

[1] Sozomen, VIII. 2.

[2] Socrates VI. 3.

been overthrown. For several years he continued to use his great influence in Antioch against sects and heresies and against the pagan frivolity and luxury which were corrupting the Christian Church.

Patriarch of Constantinople, 397.

In the year 397 this career came to an end. The emperor Arcadius chose him, very much against his own wish, to be patriarch of Constantinople in succession to Nectarius, and he received consecration as bishop from Theophilus of Alexandria, who was afterwards to overthrow him. As in his high position he spared neither heresy nor corruption in high places, and endeavoured strenuously to introduce a higher standard of life and work among the bishops and clergy, there were soon many powerful persons who desired the removal of this new John Baptist. These made common cause with the empress Eudoxia, who had herself been greatly offended by the freedom of John's preaching against licentiousness of life. Theophilus of Alexandria, who had himself been summoned to Constantinople to answer before the patriarch and the council of his diocese to grave charges, was ready enough to prefer counter-charges against John. A synod summoned at The Oak, a suburb of Chalcedon, at which Theophilus, supported by the empress, himself presided, deposed the good patriarch in his absence,—for he steadily refused to acknowledge its authority. The emperor Arcadius, requested by the synod and influenced by his wife at all costs to remove him from his see, caused him in the dusk of a September evening to be conducted to the coast of Bithynia. Thereupon there arose in the city, where the people generally had been deeply impressed by the holiness and beneficence of their bishop, so fierce a tumult that the terrified emperor ordered his recall. With the most enthusiastic expressions of joy he was escorted back to the church from which he had been expelled. The hostility of the empress however knew no remission, and the good bishop who reproved her was again banished, first to Nicæa, then to Cucusus in the bleak district of the Taurus range. Even from this remote spot his influence was felt, and the emperor ordered his removal to Pityus on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. He died however under brutal treatment, on his journey thither.

403.

404.

Died, Sept. 14, 407.

In this great teacher we see the most eager zeal for perfect simplicity and even rigour of life united with the most tender love for the souls of men. With all his championship of orthodoxy in belief, with all his devotion to monastic austerity, he still preached Christian love and beneficence as the most excellent gifts; and his practice corresponded to his preaching. But his greatest legacy to the Church is found in the sermons and homilies, in which he expounded a large part both of the Old and the New Testament. In this exegetic work, uniting as he does simple and natural explanation of the text with earnest and eloquent application of it to the circumstances of his hearers, he is the flower of the great School of Antioch. Few nobler names are found in the Church's roll of saints than that of John Chrysostom.

Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, 393—428.

Perhaps the most remarkable product of the Antiochene school of Scriptural interpretation was Theodore[1], a presbyter of Antioch who became bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. He was a steady opponent of the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, and perhaps carried the historical and critical spirit to excess. He anticipated, in fact, several of the conclusions which have become more familiar to us in the present century[2]. But throughout the history of the Israelites he sees God's preparation of His people for better things to come, he finds types of the Saviour, and he always acknowledges the reality of prophecy[3]. Few men were in higher repute for earnest work and sanctity of life. Everywhere he was regarded as the herald of the truth and the teacher of the Church; even distant Churches received instruction from him. "We believe as Theodore believed; long live the faith of Theodore," was a cry often heard in the Churches of the East[4]. Yet one hundred and twenty-five years after his death the fifth General Council, under the influence of Justinian, condemned his works. It was perhaps the stir which followed this condemnation which caused some of his works to be translated into Latin and circulated in the West, where they had hitherto been almost unknown.

---

[1] P. F. Sieffert, *Theod. Mops. Veteris Test. sobrie interpretandi Vindex;* O. F. Fritzsche, *De Theod. Mops. Vita et Scriptis;* H. Kihn, *Theod. v. Mops. und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten;* H. B. Swete in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 934.

[2] The allegations against Theodore are found in II. *Conc. Constant.* Collat. IV. § 63 ff., in Hardouin *Conc.* III. 86 ff.; and in Leontius *c. Nestorium*, in Galland, *Bibl. Patrum* XII. 686 ff. He was defended by Facundus, *Defens. Trium Capit.* (Galland, u.s. XI. 665 ff.)

[3] L. Diestel, *Gesch. d. Alten Testaments*, 129 ff.

[4] Cyril Alexand. *Epist.* 69 (quoted by Swete, D. C. B. IV. 937).

Theodoret, born c. 390.

To the Antiochene School belongs also Theodoret[1]. Born at Antioch, from his cradle devoted to a life of religion, and visited frequently by pious monks, it is not wonderful that when he became a man he entered a monastery, from which he reluctantly withdrew on being chosen bishop of Cyrus or Cyrrhus in the Euphratensis, a wide-spread diocese containing many churches, and abounding in heresies of various kinds which the good bishop endeavoured to combat. In his interpretation of Scripture he is a disciple of Theodore, but without the occasional extravagance of his master. "For appreciation, terseness of expression, and good sense, [his commentaries on St Paul] are perhaps unsurpassed;...but they have little claim to originality, and he who has read Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia will find scarcely anything in Theodoret which he has not seen before...He professes nothing more than to gather his stores from the blessed fathers[2]." In controversy and in history he is as remarkable as in exegesis. He presents himself to us in his works and in the accounts of his contemporaries as "a great and holy bishop, an accomplished man of letters, an acute and accurate scientific theologian, a sound and skilful controversialist,...a church historian learned and generally impartial; an eloquent and persuasive preacher, almost rivalling in his celebrity and his power over his hearers his great fellow-townsman John Chrysostom[3]." He has "a place of his own in the literature of the first centuries, and a place in which he has no rival[4]." We

Bishop of Cyrrhus, 423.

Died c. 457.

---

[1] J. Garnier, *Dissertationes*, appended to Sirmond's edition of Theod. *Opera;* Le N. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* xiv., xv.; W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 405 (ed. Basel); J. A. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græca*, vii., 429 ff., viii. 277 ff.; E. Binder, *Études sur Théodoret* (Geneva, 1844); Specht, *Theod. v. Mopsuest. u. Theodoret* (München, 1871).

[2] J. B. Lightfoot, *Ep. to Galatians*, p. 220 (1st Ed.).

[3] E. Venables, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 905.

[4] J. H. Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii. 326.

"feel towards him as we can hardly feel towards any of his contemporaries in East or West[1]."

SCHOOL OF EDESSA.

3. While in Western Syria the Greek language and Greek culture prevailed, in Eastern Syria the native tongue was the language of theology, which there took oriental forms of thought and style. Here arose a divinity decked with florid poetical imagery, exhorting men to a holy and ascetic life, and often tinged with mysticism. It resembled the West-Syrian School in favouring an exegesis which took account of the exact and literal sense of the words of Scripture, though in dogmatic prepossessions it came nearer to the later Alexandrian school. The principal seats of this school were Nisibis and Edessa.

James of Nisibis, d. 338.

James, bishop of Nisibis[2], though a Syrian and living on the confines of the Empire, took an eager interest in the dogmatic controversies of his time, defending the orthodox cause in many writings. His works have perished, but his influence lived in his pupil Ephraem[3], also a Syrian. This distinguished "prophet of the Syrians" was born probably at Nisibis, but when Nisibis fell into the hands of the Persians removed to Edessa, near which city he lived an ascetic life and was greatly venerated by his countrymen. It was mainly Ephraem's influence which gave to the theological literature of the Syrians its peculiar form, in which the dogma of the Church is presented rather in the figurative style which is dear to the East than in the dialectics of the West. This is true especially of his homilies and treatises, which are written in a poetical form attractive to those whom he addressed. This gives his compositions a certain elevation of style, and occasionally raises them to the rank of true lyric poetry. He also commented on the Old Testament, and on the Diatessaron of Tatian. All his works seem to have been written in Syriac, though they were soon translated into Greek.

Ephraem the Syrian.

363, *died* c. 378.

---

[1] W. Bright, *Later Treatises of Athanasius*, p. 149 (quoted by Venables, u.s.).

[2] Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* c. 1; *H. E.* II. 30.—W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 189; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 325.

[3] C. v. Lengerke, *De Ephraemo Syro Sacræ Scripturæ Interprete*, and *De Ephraemi arte hermeneutica;* J. Alsleben, *Leben d. Heil. Ephraem;* R. Payne Smith in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 137 ff. Select Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem, and also some of his expositions, were translated into English by the Rev. H. Burgess.

Aphraates. Fourth Century.

Beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, in the kingdom of Persia, seems to have existed in the fourth century a Christianity almost untouched by the dogmatic storms which agitated the Greek Church, of which the most remarkable representative is the Persian sage Aphrahat (Aphraates[1]), who was bishop of Mar Mattai near Mosul. His homilies or tracts shew that he was influenced by Jewish methods of exposition, though he blames the Jews for their legalism, their national exclusiveness, and their refusal to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah. He appears to have made use of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and to have been to some extent influenced by his views. In his confession of faith[2] he seems to have derived nothing from the current formularies of his time, but to have drawn his views of our Lord's Divinity direct from Scripture itself.

Ibas, bishop of Edessa, c. 436—457 (?).

A conspicuous leader of the West-Syrian party was Ibas[3], bishop of Edessa, where he had previously taught theology, and where he had great influence. He was an ardent admirer of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose works he translated into Syriac and constantly recommended. As was natural, he did not escape the suspicion of heresy which fell upon Theodore, and his postumous fame is in fact due quite as much to the controversy which arose about him as to his own merits, for there is nothing to indicate that he was a man of original genius.

Procopius of Gaza, fl. c. 520.

Procopius of Gaza[4] heads the long series of those useful commentators who are simply compilers, putting together the thoughts of those who have gone before them without venturing on originality. He wrote in a neat and concise style commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament.

---

[1] W. Wright, *The Homilies of Aphraates* (London, 1869), and *Catal. of Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.* II. 401; Sasse, *Proleg. in Aphr. Serm.* (Lpz., 1879); J. Forget, *De Vita et Scriptis Aphr.* (Louvain, 1882); G. Bert, *Übersetzung* etc. in Gebhardt u. Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* III. 3 and 4; W. Möller, *Kirchengeschichte* I. 417.

[2] *Hom.* I. 15.

[3] Many particulars of Ibas's Life are found in the *Defensio Trium Capit.* by Facundus of Hermiane. Ibas's famous letter to Maris is quoted in the *Acta* of the Second Council of Constantinople. Collat. 6 (Hardouin III. 140).—W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 426; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* I. 199 ff. and III. lxx. ff.; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 192.

[4] Photius, *Codices* 160, 206; W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 504; L. Diestel, *Gesch. d. Alten Test.* 125.

Junilius Africanus.

A notable off-shoot of the Syrian School was Junilius[1], an African, who held high office in the imperial palace at Constantinople. He, at the urgent request of Primasius of Adrumetum, who visited Constantinople in consequence of some of the disputes of the sixth century, wrote a book which, under the title of "Instituta regularia Divinæ Legis," is in fact an "Introduction" to Holy Scripture, founded on one by Paul, a Persian trained at Nisibis. We have in this work a reflexion of the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia as to the relative value of the books of Holy Scripture. Primasius[2] himself also published comments on St Paul's Epistles and on the Apocalypse, drawn from the works of earlier expositors.

c. 551.

Primasius.

Alexandrian School[3].

4. The old characteristics of Alexandria, the Alexandria of Clement and Origen, were the eager pursuit of learning, the application of pagan culture and philosophy to the discussion of the Christian faith, and the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. And these characteristics were still found in many of the prominent Alexandrians of a subsequent period. This school of thought however gradually died out in the course of the fourth century, and was succeeded by a race of theologians who attached very much more importance to tradition and the authority of the Church. These were opposed to their brethren at Antioch in that they tended to dwell on the divine rather than the human nature of the Incarnate Word[4]. Eusebius of Cæsarea may be said to represent the older school, Athanasius the transition, while Cyril is the most conspicuous example of the new.

New School.

Eusebius Pamphili, born c. 270.

In the fourth century the man who, though not an Alexandrian by birth, best represents the learning, the breadth, the general culture of the Alexandrian School, is certainly Eusebius[5] of Cæsarea. At Cæsarea in Palestine he passed his youth; there he listened to the expositions of Dorotheus[1]; there he revelled with the delight of a bookworm in the splendid library of the rich presbyter Pamphilus[2]. So conscious was he of his obligations to this munificent friend that he chose to be distinguished as "Pamphilus's Eusebius;" what he was, Pamphilus had made him. He saw in the persecution under Diocletian the churches levelled with the ground, the Holy Books committed to the flames, the clergy hunted hither and thither amid the jeers and insults of the mob[3]. Pamphilus himself died a martyr's death. Eusebius in later times was accused of having escaped death by sacrificing[4]. There seems however to be no evidence of this, and in the fierce disputes of the fourth century any testimony which existed would certainly have been produced. It was probably not long after the restoration of peace to the Church that Eusebius was chosen bishop of Cæsarea, and in that office—though an effort was made to translate him to a more important see—he died.

---

[1] H. Kihn, *Theodor v. Mops. und Junilius;* G. Salmon, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 534.

[2] W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 525; H. Kihn, *Theodor*, p. 248 ff.

[3] See p. 70, n. 1, and add E. Vacherot, *Histoire Crit. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, and C. Kingsley, *Alexandria and her Schools.*

[4] "It is only as the apologist of Catholic Christianity that Gregory of Nyssa feels himself fully committed to the historical personality of Christ. Where he plays the philosopher and steps out freely he has little or nothing to say of the historical Christ." A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, II. 167.

[5] Scattered notices of him are found in the works of Athanasius,

d. before 341.

At the Council of Nicæa he played a prominent part. His learning and ability no doubt entitled him to distinction, but the position which he held was probably due rather to his intimacy with the emperor than to his own excellent qualities. "He was the clerk of the imperial closet; he was the interpreter, the chaplain, the confessor of Constantine[5]." Nor do these cordial relations with his imperial friend appear to have suffered any interruption. He had in fact that union of pliancy and ability which fitted him to become the confidant of a great man who on some points needed informing and guiding.

Eusebius's relations with the emperor and the Church

Jerome, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret; but his own writings are the principal sources of information as to his life. Cave, Tillemont and Fabricius give much information about him and his writings. See also Valesius *De Vita Scriptisque Eusebii* prefixed to his edition of the *Hist. Eccl.*; Stroth, *Leben u. Schriften d. Eus.*, prefixed to his translation of the *Ch. Hist.*; H. Stein, *Eusebius v. Cäsarea*; W. Bright, *Life* prefixed to Oxford reprint of *Hist. Eccl.* (1872); J. B. Lightfoot in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 308 ff.

[1] See p. 67.

[2] See p. 75.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.* VIII. 2 ff.

[4] By Potammon at the Council of Tyre (335); see Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 68, c. 8; and Lightfoot in *D. C. B.* 311.

[5] A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 102 (3rd Ed.).

must have brought upon him very onerous and anxious duties, yet he found time for much study and incessant literary productiveness. He wrote history; he defended Christianity against Jews and Gentiles; he discussed dogma; he interpreted Scripture; he delivered orations; and he had a large correspondence. In fact, he must have been one of the most unwearied workers that the world has seen. He is best known by his ecclesiastical history, which shews an extraordinary amount of reading, and the general sincerity and good faith of which can scarcely be doubted[1]. In spite of defects which are patent to a later time, he had probably in his own age no superior in the critical faculty any more than in multifarious learning and in knowledge of mankind. No ancient writer is so absolutely indispensable to the student. "In the *Ecclesiastical History,* in the *Chronicle,* and in the *Preparation,* he has preserved for us a vast amount of early literature in three several spheres, which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost." He had the instinct of genius for choosing themes which are of permanent and not merely temporary interest. Standing as he did between the old world of paganism and the new world of Christianity, "he saw the greatness of the crisis; he seized the opportunity; he, and he only, preserved the past in all its phases, in history, in doctrine, in criticism, even in topography, for the instruction of the future. This is his real title to greatness[2]."

Writing while paganism was still a living force, he gave much of his thought and toil to the vindication of Christianity[3]. Not only in his directly apologetic works, but everywhere, his mind turns to the defence of the Faith. A true Alexandrian, "he sought out the elements of truth in pre-existing philosophical systems or popular religions; and, thus obtaining a foothold, he worked onward in his assault on paganism....It was the only method which could achieve success[4]."

His works were after his death fiercely attacked and defended. But probably the words of Pope Pelagius II.[5] —"Holy Church weigheth the hearts of her faithful ones with kindliness rather than their words with rigour"—express the general sentiment of the learned in the Church towards one of the ablest of her sons. At an early date he was numbered among the saints, and May 30 assigned to his commemoration[1].

---

[1] Lightfoot in *D. C. B.* 324.

[2] *Ibid.* 345.

[3] His success in this is noted by Evagrius, *H. E.* I. 1.

[4] Lightfoot in *D. C. B.* 346.

[5] *Epist.* 5, quoted by Lightfoot, *D. C. B.* 348.

Athanasius; born c. 296.

But the most impressive figure among the Alexandrians is no doubt Athanasius[2]. This great man was born in Alexandria of Christian parents towards the end of the third century. Even as a child sportively imitating the ceremonies of the Church he attracted the notice of the bishop of that city, Alexander, who received him into his own house and caused him to receive the best education of his time[3]. His theological studies led him to ponder especially on the great mystery of the relation of the Father to the Son and to mankind. Drawn afterwards by the spirit of asceticism into the wilderness, he passed some time in retirement with the famous hermit St Anthony[4], and never ceased to admire and recommend the ascetic life. On his return to his native city bishop Alexander ordained him deacon and adopted him as a confidential adviser and secretary. In his earliest writings he entered the lists as the champion of Christianity against the assaults of educated paganism, but the publication in 320 of the specious errors of Arius made the contest against Arianism in defence of the true deity of the Son the work of his life. In this no pressure of theologians of a broader school, no frowns of high-placed tyranny, no suffering or banishment, could bend his intrepid spirit. In 328 he was chosen, on the death of his friend Alexander, to be bishop of Alexandria, and in that see, after attempts at deposition by the Imperial power

Deacon, 319.

Bishop, 328.

---

[1] In an ancient Syrian Martyrology translated from the Greek, which can hardly be dated more than fifty years after his death. See Lightfoot, *u.s.*, where may also be seen the curious story of his canonisation in the West.

[2] The principal authority for the life of Athanasius is found in his own writings. Those treatises which contain the chief biographical information have been collected and edited by W. Bright (Oxford, 1881). There are modern Lives by B. de Montfaucon, in the Benedictine Edition of his works; J. A. Möhler, *Athanasius der Grosse;* W. Bright in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 179 ff.; F. W. Farrar in *Lives of the Fathers*, I. 445 ff.; R. Wheler Bush, *St Athanasius* (S.P.C.K.); E. Fialon, *St Athanase.*

[3] Sozomen II. 17; Theodoret *H. E.* I. 26.

[4] See the Preface to his *Life of St Anthony.*

Died, May 2, 373.

and repeated banishment, he died. No calumny was able to shake the affection which his flock bore him. Whenever he was able to return, the city rejoiced. When he died Arianism was, mainly in consequence of his efforts, drawing near extinction. He had sometimes stood almost alone against the world, but in the end he triumphed.

Works.

In spite of his wandering and persecuted life he left behind numerous works of the highest value. He introduced into the defence of Christianity against unbelievers a more systematic method than that of the earlier apologists, shewing from the principles of reason which all acknowledged both the truth of the revelation of God in the Word and the absurdity of the pagan objections to it. He treated in dogmatic and controversial treatises of the great doctrines of the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity; he made valuable contributions to the history of his own time; he interpreted Scripture; he exhorted men to holiness of life. And in all his writings he appears as a true Alexandrian, a disciple of Clement and Origen. It is the constant presence of the creative Word in the world that He has made which gives it its law and its harmony; and where the Word is, there is also the Father[1]. We are not to regard the universe as something apart and aloof from God, but as maintained by a constant exertion of the divine power. God never leaves man, His last great work, even when fallen from his first estate; man too is renewed by the Word[2].

Character.

Few men have combined in the same degree as Athanasius the active and the contemplative faculties. Capable as he was of regarding fixedly the highest mysteries of the Godhead, he shewed great skill and dexterity in the practical conduct of affairs. He knew how to avoid snares and to seize opportunities. If the perversity of those who attempted by sophistry to draw aside the faithful from the right way sometimes provoked him to vehemence of expression, with fair and reasonable opponents he was calm and charitable. Of all the Greek Fathers he is the least diffuse, the most simple, and consequently the most forcible. He writes as one too much in earnest to be anxious about expression. It was not without reason that his contemporaries regarded him as the model bishop, the standard of orthodoxy, the trumpet that gave no uncertain sound[1]. And this reputation lives even to this day.

---

[1] *Contra Gentes*, §§ 40—45. See Dorner, *Person Christi*, p. 833 ff.

[2] *De Incarnatione*, §§ 1—7, 11—16.

Didymus, born c. 310.

The man who perhaps best maintained in Alexandria itself the method of Origen was Didymus[2], who, though blind from his childhood, made himself acquainted with all the science accessible to him, and acquired a wonderful knowledge of Holy Scripture. Appointed by Athanasius to take charge of the catechetical school, he was the last teacher who maintained something of its ancient fame, and taught such men as Jerome and Rufinus. After his death about 395 it sank into obscurity. Of his numerous exegetical works, once in high repute, only a small portion remains, but some of his other works are preserved, either in the original or in a Latin version. The earnest worker, seeking knowledge without the aid of sight and clinging to the best traditions of his school even when they had fallen under suspicion, is a venerable and pathetic figure.

c. 340.

Died, c. 395.

Apollinaris the elder, at Laodicea, c. 335,

the younger, died 390.

The two writers who bear the name of Apollinaris or Apolinarius are so intimately connected that, in their purely literary labours, it is hardly possible to separate them. The elder was born at Alexandria, but is found, about the year 335 at Laodicea, where he was a presbyter. Here he married and had a son of the same name, afterwards bishop of Laodicea. Both father and son were on intimate terms with the heathen rhetoricians Libanius and Epiphanius of Petra, whose lectures they attended, and from whom they no doubt derived some culture. When Julian interdicted the reading of pagan authors in Christian schools, an attempt was made to produce a Christian literature which might take their place. The father and son, working together, turned the early portion of the biblical history into a Homeric poem in twenty-four books, and produced lyrics, tragedies, and comedies, after the manner of Pindar, Euripides and Menander: even the writings of the New Testament were

Their works.

---

[1] Gregor. Nazianz. *Oratio* 21, c. 37; 25, c. 11; Basil, *Epist.* 80.

[2] Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* 109; *Epist.* 84; *Apol. adv. Lib. Rufini*, I. 6; II. 16; III. 27; Socrates, IV. 25; Sozomen, III. 15; Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 29.

brought into the form of Platonic dialogues, the Psalms turned into Greek hexameters, by this unwearied pair. It cannot, however, be said that those productions of this kind which remain to us shew any poetical genius, or were ever likely to supersede the writers whom they imitated or plagiarized. They were only produced to supply a special want, and when the occasion for them passed away they ceased to be read. It was the younger Apollinaris who in the latter part of the fourth century propounded the peculiar opinions by which his name came to be too well known.

Epiphanius, born c. 315.

One of the most learned men of the fourth century was Epiphanius[1], who, born of Hebrew parents in Palestine about the year 315, early devoted himself to the ascetic life, and founded, while still a young man, a monastery near Eleutheropolis in his native country. In middle life he was called to the episcopal see of Salamis—the modern Constantia—in Cyprus, and was conspicuous from that time forth as an ardent promoter of monasticism and a leading opponent of the more philosophical treatment of the Christian faith which originated, he believed, with Origen. It is therefore not surprising that he plunged eagerly into the Origenistic controversy, in which he displayed perhaps more learning than judgment. He died in the year 403, leaving behind him several writings, of which by far the most important is the *Panarion*, a Treatise against the Heresies, which is of the highest value to the historian of the Church. The writer is indeed credulous and uncritical, but he has preserved many fragments of lost works, and many traditions which would otherwise have perished. His hot temper frequently led him astray, but he was all his life a faithful defender of the orthodox belief. His own age regarded him as a saint.

Bishop of Salamis, 367.

Died, 403.

Next to Athanasius in importance among Greek theologians are no doubt the great Cappadocians, Basil with his friend Gregory of Nazianzus and his brother Gregory of Nyssa.

---

[1] The principal sources for the life of Epiphanius are—beside his own works—Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 10, 12—14; Sozomen, *H. E.* vi. 32, vii. 27, viii. 14, 15; Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* 114; *Epist.* 38 [61] *Ad Pammach.;* 39 [62] *Ad Theophil.; Apol. adv. Rufinum,* lib. ii.; Palladius, *Dial. de Vita Chrysost.* Modern works relating to him are Gervais, *L'Histoire et la Vie de St Epiphane ;* Fabricius, *Bibl. Graeca,* viii. 261 ff. (ed. Harless); R. A. Lipsius in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 149 ff., and *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios.*

The Three Cappadocians.

Basil, born c. 330.

Basil[1] was born about the year 330 at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His father, of the same name, was a Christian, a man of considerable wealth and a much-respected citizen. His mother Emmelia was the daughter of a martyr, so that the future bishop was brought up in a family where the memory of the early struggles of the Church was still lively, and where his youthful imagination would be stimulated by hearing of the constancy of those who gave their lives for the faith. The results shew how deep an impression was made upon the children. Basil was educated first in Cæsarea, then in Constantinople,—perhaps under Libanius—and finally in Athens, where the literary culture was as yet but slightly tinged with Christianity, under the famous sophist Himerius and others[2]. Here a common devotion to the studies of the place and to the faith of Christ drew him into still closer friendship with Gregory, afterwards known as Nazianzen, whom he already knew as a fellow-countryman. Here the two young men saw the future emperor Julian, already perhaps pondering on the restoration of the paganism which he loved. On Basil's return home he was seized with a passion for the monastic life to which he was to give so powerful an impulse, and declined the opportunities for worldly advancement which his position, his ability, and his education offered him. After a period of retirement he began the work of the ministry as reader in the church of his native Cæsarea. Hitherto he had taken no part in the dogmatic contests which were waged around him; now he came in contact with the Homoiousian party, but soon threw in his lot with those who maintained the formula of Nicæa, and became one of their chief leaders in the later conflicts which led to the Council of Constantinople

c. 357.

---

[1] Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* c. 116; Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 19; Philostorgius, *H. E.* VIII. 11 ff.; *Vita* by Garnier in the Bened. Ed. of *Opera Greg.;* F. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen,* Band 3; E. Fialon, *Étude sur St Basile* etc.; A. F. Villemain, *Éloquence Chrét.* 104 ff.; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 282 ff.; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers,* II. 1 ff.; R. Travers Smith, *Basil the Great* (S.P.C.K.).

[2] Greg. Nazianz. *Oratio* 43, c. 14; Socrates, IV. 26; Sozomen, VI. 17.

Bishop, c. 370. *Died* 379.

and the extinction of Arianism. In the year 370 he was chosen bishop of Cæsarea, where nine years later he died, having done a great work in a life which did not pass its fiftieth year.

His theology was mainly founded on the study of Origen, from whose works he made, with the help of his friend Gregory, a series of characteristic extracts, still preserved, under the title of *Philocalia.* The influence of Origen is manifest in Basil's famous work on the Six Days of Creation—the *Hexaemeron*—although the tendency to allegory appears here in a less extravagant form than in Origen. But however Basil may have leaned towards the theology and exegesis of Origen, he was in all the essential points of Christian doctrine truly Athanasian. No one saw more clearly the real nature of the points in dispute between the Arians and their opponents, as appears from his books against Eunomius and on the Holy Spirit. His letters too, which have a pleasant classical tinge, are of the highest interest. St Basil was, as we shall presently see, an ardent promoter of monasticism, but he had none of the littleness which sometimes clings to an ascetic. No one among the Fathers gives a stronger impression of largeness and fairness of mind, so that he might seem to have been divinely sent to heal the wounds of an age of controversy. His blameless life, his beneficence, his weight of character, his learning and clearness of thought all contributed to this end. It was not without reason that after ages called him "the Great."

Gregory Nazianzen, born c. 325.

With Basil is naturally coupled his life-long friend Gregory Nazianzen[1], whose father—also named Gregory—after belonging in early life to the theistic sect called Hypsistarii, had been brought into the Church by the influence of his devout wife Nonna, and in the end became bishop of Nazianzus. The son, after his years of study in Athens, for a while shared Basil's monastic retirement. When he returned to the world he was ordained—not without reluctance—to the priesthood by his father[2], and

c. 361.

---

[1] *Life* by Clemencet prefixed to the Benedictine Edition of his Works; C. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz.* (tr. by Cox); Benoît, *St Grégoire de Nazianze;* H. W. Watkins in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 741 ff.; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, I. 659 ff.

[2] *Carmen* xi. *de Vita sua*, 340 ff. See also *Oratio* 2, *De Fuga sua.*

Bishop of Sasima, c. 370.

At Constantinople, c. 379.

380.

381.

Died, c. 389.

a few years later was sent by Basil as bishop to a little town called Sasima. Here he found himself out of place[1], and was glad to escape from it and become coadjutor to his aged father at Nazianzus. On his death he declined to become his successor and went into retirement, until, after the death of the emperor Valens, the orthodox community which still maintained itself in Constantinople chose him for their bishop. There he employed his active mind and well-trained eloquence in defending the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers, and gained the name of Theologus, the assertor of the divinity of the Logos. He was listened to by crowds, on whom he did not fail to impress the need of love to God and a holy life as well as of a right belief. Theodosius transferred him and his followers to the principal church in Constantinople, from which the Arian bishop was expelled, and at the synod of Constantinople in the year 381 he was formally chosen as bishop of that city. This election was however by many regarded as invalid, and it was not long before Gregory, weary of the strife of tongues and longing for rest, resigned his see[2] and passed the remainder of his life in quiet in his native city or in the neighbouring Arianzus. He died about the year 389.

Character.

Works.

There may be seen in Gregory's varied and troubled life a struggle between the shrinking of a cultivated and sensitive man from the rudeness of ecclesiastical conflict, and the sense of duty, quickened perhaps by the consciousness of power, which impelled him to engage in it. If the time had permitted it he would perhaps have led his life "in cot or learned shade," but he lived in an age when no good man could be a mere spectator, and, with whatever shrinking, he came forward to defend the truth. He left behind him discourses, letters and poems. It is evident that he, like Basil, had a real love for the old classic literature; yet he thought that the true philosophy was to be found in monastic retreat from the world[3]. He assailed Julian in two orations which he called pasquinades[4]; he defended himself before the people of Nazianzus for his reluctance to undertake the priesthood; he preached frequently on festivals; but his most famous sermons are those[1] in which he maintained the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit—a subject to which indeed he constantly recurs. His letters, which are written in a clear and simple style, often supply valuable material for history. His poems, especially that which contains a half-satirical account of his own life, are of some value for their matter if not for their poetry. Generally, we may say that while Gregory sometimes, when his feelings are roused, rises to true eloquence, his manner is too often artificial, self-conscious, and overloaded with allusions which are to us obscure. In originality and force of reasoning he is not to be compared with Athanasius or even with Gregory of Nyssa.

---

[1] *Carm.* xi. 439 ff.

[2] *Oratio* 42.

[3] *Oratio* 2, cc. 5 and 7.

[4] *Λόγοι στηλιτευτικοί.*

Gregory Nyssen, born c. 330, *bishop,* c. 371.

Gregory of Nyssa[2] was a younger brother of Basil, who about the year 371 sent him, though married, to preside as bishop over the little town of Nyssa in Cappadocia[3]. In the persecution which befel the Nicene party in the reign of Valens he was deposed by a synod, at the instigation of Demosthenes, the governor of Cappadocia, for various crimes falsely alleged against him, and withdrew into solitude. He returned however after the death of Valens, and was received with great joy by the community. Henceforth he was a prominent figure in the Church, and at Constantinople in the year 381 pronounced the funeral oration over the remains of Meletius, who died there, and a few years later over those of the young Pulcheria, daughter of Theodosius I., and the empress Flacilla. He was present in a council at Constantinople in the year 394[4], and probably died soon after. Gregory of Nyssa is the most philosophical, and the most influenced by the theology of Origen, of the Cappadocian trio; but, however speculative, he was as firm as Athanasius himself in his defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and stood by the side of his brother Basil in his contest against

375.

378.

381.

Died after 394.

---

[1] *Orationes* 27—31.

[2] The principal authorities for the life of Gregory are his own works and the letters of Basil and Gregory Naz.; Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* c. 128; Socrates, IV. 26; Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 30; V. 8. Lives in Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 244 (ed. 1741); Schröckh, *K. G.* XIV. 1 ff.; J. Rupp, *Gregors v. Nyss. Leben u. Meinungen;* E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 761 ff.; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers,* II. 75 ff.

[3] Basil, *Epist.* 225.

[4] Hardouin, I. 955.

heretical dogma. He also wrote on the soul and the resurrection, and a "Catechetic Discourse," intended to shew by what methods Jews, Gentiles and heretics might best be brought to the knowledge of the truth. His disposition seems to have been gentle and amiable, and no one of the Fathers stands more clear of all suspicion of meanness or underhand dealing. It was not without reason that Vincentius of Lerins[1] pronounced him a worthy brother of St Basil, and that the second Council of Nicæa[2] quoted him as of the highest authority.

Isidore of Pelusium, born c. 370, *died* c. 450.

Isidore, head of the monastery near the Pelusiote mouth of the Nile, stands out as one who in an age of fierce controversy never became a mere partizan. While on the whole siding with Cyril of Alexandria, he never lent himself to his violent measures; while he did not wholly reject allegorical interpretation, he yet valued highly the historical method of the School of Antioch. His numerous letters, some of which give spiritual counsel, while others discuss matters of interpretation, are of great value for the history of his time. He lived so ascetically that, says Evagrius[3], he passed to the angelic life while yet on earth.

Synesius, born c. 370;

A remarkable product of the pagan schools of Alexandria is Synesius[4]. Born about the year 370 of a good family[5] at Cyrene in the Egyptian Pentapolis, he studied Neo-Platonism under Hypatia[6], the lady in the doctor's gown, of whom to the last he spoke with affection as his intellectual mother. He afterwards visited Athens only to be disillusioned; it had nothing but great memories, he says; the real focus of philosophy was found in Alexandria[7]. From about the year 400 he spent his time principally

---

[1] *Commonitorium*, c. 30.

[2] *Actio* 6; Hardouin, IV. 725.

[3] *H. E.* I. 15.—H. A. Niemeyer, *De Isid. Pelus. Vita Scriptis et Doctrina;* W. Bright in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 315.

[4] D. Petavius, *Vita Synesii*, appended to Synesii *Opera*, 1641; L. Holstenius, *De Synesio*, in Reading's Edition of *Script. Hist. Eccl.* III. 612 ff.; G. Krabinger, *Synesios Leben*, prefixed to his edition of the *Speech to Arcadius*, and art. in Wetzer u. Welte's *Kirchenlex.* X. 594 ff.; H. Druon, *Études sur la Vie de Synésius;* W. Volkmann, *Synesius von Cyrene;* J. R. Halcomb in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 756 ff.; A. Gardner, *Synesius of Cyrene* (S.P.C.K.). See also J. Huber, *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, 315 ff.; Villemain, *Éloquence Chrét.* 209 ff.

[5] *Epistt.* 50 and 57.

[6] *Ibid.* 10 and 16.

[7] *Ibid.* 136.

at Cyrene, 400.

on his estate at Cyrene, leading the life of a cultivated country-gentleman, engaged in agriculture and field-sports. He also kept up his philosophic studies, though in this he felt himself isolated in the midst of people who hardly knew whether they were not living in the reign of Agamemnon[1]. It was on another visit to Alexandria that he married a Christian wife[2], a circumstance which no doubt aided his conversion to Christianity, the history of which is obscure. He was living at Cyrene when, in the year 409, the people, oppressed by a brutal governor, begged him, their most influential neighbour, to be their bishop and protector[3]. He was extremely reluctant to undertake this office; not only was he married and unwilling to separate from his wife, but his views in several points were, he felt, hardly to be reconciled with the current theology of the time, and he was conscious that it would be difficult for him to adopt the decorous life of a bishop. Still, his love for his people and the persuasion of Theophilus of Alexandria prevailed. He was consecrated to the see of Ptolemais, and discharged his duty faithfully in a time of great difficulty and distress. He is supposed to have died about the year 414, bowed down by the weight of public and private cares. With him comes to an end the history of the ancient Christianity of the Libyan Pentapolis. Synesius does not belong to the first order of minds, but he is a remarkable example of one whose philosophical principles were coloured and ennobled rather than displaced by Christianity[4], and he gives a clearer and purer reflexion of his school than a stronger character would have done.

c. 404.

Bishop, 410.

Died, c. 414 (?).

Nemesius, fl. c. 410.

Nemesius[5], bishop of Emesa in Syria, is also an instance of a Christianized philosopher. Although, so far as is known, he was a perfectly orthodox teacher, he seems to have turned his attention mainly to the great questions which interest all thoughtful men from age to age—the nature of man, his relation to the universe, the immortality of the soul, the reconciliation of the freedom of the will with the providence and omnipotence of God. His treatise on the Nature of Man, still extant[1], shews him to have studied human physiology as well as psychology, and is an important contribution to philosophical theory.

---

[1] *Epist.* 101.

[2] *Ibid.* 105.

[3] Evagrius, *H. E.* I. 15.

[4] *Epist.* 95.

[5] H. Ritter, *Christl. Philosophie,* II. 461 ff.; J. Huber, *Philosophie der Kirchenväter,* 321 ff.; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 16.

Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, 412—444.

Cyril, the famous archbishop of Alexandria[2], is the chief representative of an Alexandrian School very different from that which derived its first impulse from Origen. He was the nephew and successor of bishop Theophilus, by whom he had been brought up, and whom in character he much resembled. His election to the see was not effected without violence, and he had not long occupied it when a quarrel arose between the archbishop and the Jews which led to his expelling them from the city at the head of a furious mob. Some of Cyril's partizans pelted Orestes, the prefect of the city, with stones,—conduct which, rightly or wrongly, brought discredit on their bishop. Cyril entered with great zeal and vigour into the controversies of his time, and it is indeed as a very able controversial leader and writer that he is chiefly known. His best friends will scarcely deny that he was too vehement and imperious to be altogether wise, or even just; but his "faults were not inconsistent with great and heroic virtues, faith, firmness, intrepidity, fortitude, endurance, perseverance[3]."

Dionysius the Areopagite, c. 500.

We see in the writings which bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite[4] a Neo-Platonic system disguised under terms taken from the language of the Church. God is absolute and unconditioned Being. To Him no definition, no description, hardly any epithet can properly apply. He is beyond all time and space. He is the source of all existence[5]. But He condescends to develope

---

[1] In De la Bigne's *Biblioth. Vett. Patrum*, tom. 8; Migne's *Patrol. Series Gr.* tom. 40. Separate ed. by J. Fell, Oxon. 1671.

[2] W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 391.—W. Bright in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 763 ff.; Kopallik, *Cyril von Alexand.* (Mainz, 1881).

[3] J. H. Newman, *Historic Sketches*, III. 342.

[4] J. Ussher, *Diss. de Scriptis Dion. Areop.*, appended to his *Hist. Dogmatica;* J. L. Mosheim, *De turbata per recent. Platonicos Ecclesia;* J. G. Engelhardt, *De Dion. Areop. Plotinizante*, and *De Origine Script. Areop.;* A. Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic, and the Book of Hierotheos;* B. F. Westcott in *Contemp. Rev.* May, 1867; J. Huber, *Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, 327 ff.; J. H. Lupton in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 841 ff. Pearson (*Vind. Ignat.* c. 10) supposes these writings to be of the fourth century; Baumgarten-Crusius (*De Dion. Areop.*) of the third.

[5] *De Divinis Nominibus*, I. 1, 7; III. 1; V. 4, etc.

Himself in a series of beings, a heavenly and an earthly hierarchy, through whom on the one hand He reveals Himself, so far as may be, to man, and on the other enables man to ascend towards the Being of Beings Himself[1]. At the head of the heavenly hierarchy stands the Holy Trinity; the earthly hierarchy through the sacraments or "mysteries" of the Church provides man with the means of purification and of rising towards God. These remarkable treatises were first cited, so far as we know, by the Monophysites at a Conference in Constantinople[2] in the sixth century, and were probably written by some disciple of Proclus of Constantinople in the previous generation. 533 (?) It is, however, possible that the main portions of them were written anonymously at an earlier date —perhaps in the fourth century—and were interpolated at the beginning of the sixth by some controversialist with the view of making them pass for the work of Dionysius[3]. At the Conference their spuriousness was at once recognised, but nevertheless from the beginning of the seventh century to the days of Laurentius Valla in the fifteenth they were in the highest repute, and their account of the ranks and degrees of angels was generally accepted. Their teaching also largely influenced mediæval theory about the Sacraments of the Church.

Influence of Aristotle.

During the period when Christian doctrine was still in some respects undefined, the philosophy of Plato, a seeker rather than a dogmatist, had been a dominant influence in the formation of theology. But when theology became more definite the logical system of Aristotle was found better adapted for the use of theologians. The influence of Aristotelian modes of thought is found in Leontius of Byzantium[4], a Scythian monk, who was conspicuous in controversy in the sixth century; and even more in Johannes Philoponus[5], the labour-lover, who took the opposite side in the divisions of Justinian's time.

Leontius, fl. c. 536.

Johannes Philoponus, fl. c. 540—570.

---

[1] This is found in the treatises on the Celestial and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. Dean Colet's tract on these works has been published by the Rev. J. H. Lupton.

[2] Hardouin, *Conc.* II. 1162.

[3] Dom Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, tom. III.

[4] Fr. Loofs, *Leontius v. Byzant.*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* von Gebhardt u. Harnack, III. 1 and 2.

[5] Trechsel in *Studien u. Krit.* 1835; A. Nauck in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encycl.* s. v.; T. W. Davids in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 425.

LATIN THEOLOGY[1].

5. The Churches of the West were much less disturbed by speculative questions than those of the East. The Latin theologians were for the most part rather deeply interested spectators of the contest which in the fourth and fifth centuries shook the oriental Churches to their foundations, than active combatants, though they were greatly influenced by the works of their Greek contemporaries. On the other hand, in practical questions, such as the nature and powers of the Church, the relation of the grace of God to the soul of man, and the like, they took a much keener interest than their Eastern brethren. The Romans when they accepted the yoke of Christ retained the old governing spirit of the Empire, and the Latin theology generally has more of the practical than of the speculative spirit. When Greek philosophy came to an end, and no longer supplied a training for theologians, the Romans still found in the study of law an intellectual exercise which preserved their minds from torpidity. Latin theology is in fact the work of men who regarded the problems submitted to them with the eyes of lawyers rather than of philosophers. The greatest names among the Latins are those of St Ambrose, St Augustine, and Leo I., who, while retaining their own distinctive traits, were in harmony with the Alexandrian school of Athanasius and his followers. Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome in his earlier days, and Rufinus, were more directly influenced by the theology to which Origen had given its character. In the south of Gaul was found a group of theologians who had drawn their original inspiration from the school of Antioch.

Hilary of Poitiers, born c. 320.

Bishop, c. 350.

Hilary[2] (Hilarius), the Athanasius of the West, was born at Poitiers about the year 320 of heathen parents, but, after trying in vain to satisfy the hunger of his soul with philosophy, was admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ. Chosen about the year 350 to be bishop of his

---

[1] For the literary characteristics of the Latin writers see J. C. Bähr, *Die Christlichen Dichter und Geschichtschreiber Roms; Die Christlich-Römische Theologie;* and A. Ebert, *Gesch. der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur.*

[2] Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* c. 100; Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Confess.* c. 2. J. Reinkens, *Hilarius von Poitiers;* Hansen, *Vie de St Hilaire;* Baltzer, *Die Theologie des Hil. von Poitiers;* J. Förster, *Zur Theologie des Hil.* in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888; J. Fessler, *Patrologie*, I. 436 ff.; A. Ebert, *Gesch. der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur*, I. 128 ff.; J. G. Cazenove in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 54 ff.

Exiled 356—360.

native city, he contended so earnestly for the faith which was then persecuted that in the year 356 the Arian Emperor Constantius banished him to Phrygia. When in the year 360 he was permitted to return to his see, he used his utmost efforts for the restoration of orthodoxy both in his own country and in Italy, where at a council in Milan he entered the lists against the Arian bishop of that city, Auxentius. He died in the year 366. Hilary was one of the few Latins who understood the theology of the East, which he no doubt learned more thoroughly during his banishment; hence he was a most valuable link between the Greek and the Latin Church. He wrote commentaries on Scripture which shew the influence of Origen, but he is best known by his great treatise on the Trinity, in which he defends the Faith of Nicæa. He also wrote hymns, but it is by no means certain that any of these have come down to our time. Hilary recognised, much more than most of his contemporaries, the importance of a good literary style as a vehicle of truth. When he invokes God's help for his work on the Holy Trinity, he prays not only for enlightenment but also for the power of correct expression[1]; he who conveys the message of a King should do it in words not unworthy[2]. If, in spite of his pains, his does not rival the style of the Classical or even of the Silver age of Latinity, we must remember that he had to find or fashion equivalents for Greek theological terms in Latin—a much less copious and flexible language. Under the circumstances, he could scarcely avoid occasional obscurity and inelegance. Yet he is always terse and forcible, and his manifest earnestness and unaffectedness keep the reader's attention better than the more rhetorical displays of some other writers.

Died, 366.

Works.

Style.

St Ambrose, born c. 340.

One of the noblest and most impressive figures in the great company of the saints is St Ambrose[3]. Ambrosius, the son of a Roman of high military rank, became an advocate in Rome, where he practised until he was appointed "consular" governor of North Italy, and came to reside at Milan. In the year 374 the see of Milan became vacant by the death of the Arian bishop Auxentius, and the people clamorously demanding Ambrose, who shewed Christian virtues though he was not yet baptized, for their bishop, he found himself unable to resist a call which he recognized as the voice of God. He sold his property, distributed the proceeds among the poor, and at once devoted himself to the study of theology and the duties of his office. He died on April 4, 397.

---

[1] *De Trin.* I. 38.

[2] *Tract.* in Ps. xiii.

[3] The *Life* by Paulinus, a second translated from the Greek, and a carefully compiled *Life* by the Benedictines themselves, are to be found in the Benedictine ed. of the works of Ambrose. Others are, W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 261; F. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen*, vol. 10 (2nd ed.); J. Förster, *Ambrosius von Mailand;* J. Ll. Davies, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 91 ff.; C. Merivale, *Lectures on Early Ch. Hist.*, Lect. I; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, II. 112 ff.

Bishop, 374.

Died, 4 *Apr.* 397.

Works.

His literary works are not of the first importance and do not shew much originality. He drew largely from Greek sources, and was influenced in his interpretation of Scripture by the Alexandrian School, sometimes perhaps directly by Philo. His work on the Duties of the Clergy is a treatise on morality, founded on Cicero's well-known discourse on Duties, but penetrated throughout by the spirit of Christianity; while the earlier writer has in his mind the typical Roman statesman, the Christian contemplates one who serves God here and is to serve Him better hereafter. He is also believed to have written hymns which have maintained their vogue even to this day. And if his writings do not shew much creative power, we at least see in them not the facile declamation of a rhetorician, but the sober style of one to whom the old classics were familiar, and who had been trained in great affairs. But the bent of his mind was practical. His personal influence was extraordinary, in his own city almost irresistible. He could defy so powerful a person as Theodosius, while over the young emperor Gratian he seems to have had complete ascendancy. The very soldiers could not be induced to act against the great prelate. St Augustin[1] gives an interesting account of his manner of life at Milan, where his door was open to all and whosoever would might enter unannounced, though no one ventured to disturb him if he was found with his eyes bent on a book. He received his clients as an old Roman patrician might have done. For many years he was the most powerful man in the Western Church, in which no important matter was transacted without him; but perhaps the greatest and most fruitful of his works was the conversion of St Augustin.

---

[1] *Confess,* vi. 3.

St Jerome, born c. 346.

St Jerome[1], one of the greatest of the Latin Fathers, was born rather more than three hundred years after the Lord's death in a little town called Stridon on the frontier between Dalmatia and Pannonia, on the border of the modern Herzegovina, being thus one of that race of hardy mountaineers which in the declining days of the Roman Empire supplied so many able men to her service. His name, Eusebius Hieronymus, is Greek, but he always wrote in Latin, though he had, as we shall see, a far more intimate connexion with the East than any other Latin Father. His parents, who were Christian, were rich enough to give him an excellent education[2]. Still young, he went to Rome, where he not only received a literary training but also cultivated that dialectic skill which in later days served him well in his numerous controversies[3]. Here he began to acquire a library[4], and to study Greek philosophy. Here too he was baptized, no doubt after the usual careful preparation. From the great city he passed to Treves and thence to Aquileia[5], still eagerly pursuing his studies.

At Rome, c. 363.

Aquileia, 370—373.

But a great change was soon to pass over the life of the young student. It was probably in Aquileia that he received the first impulse to asceticism, and it was perhaps this which drove him to the East, then the land of monks and hermits. In Syria a dear friend who was with him died, and he himself lay long on a sick-bed. While his fevered mind was distracted between love for the old classic writers and the feeling that he ought to live more completely to Christ, he was deeply impressed by a vivid

In Syria, 373.

---

[1] St Jerome's own letters are the principal authority for his life, as he is but little mentioned by his contemporaries. Modern biographies are:—Am. Thierry, *St Jerome;* A. F. Villemain, *Éloquence Chrétienne*, p. 320 ff. (ed. 1858); O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben und Wirken;* W. H. Fremantle in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 29 ff.; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, II. 203 ff.; E. L. Cutts, *St Jerome* (S. P. C. K.).

[2] See his Preface to Job; *Epist.* 21, c. 30; 66, c. 4; *c. Rufinum*, I. 30.

[3] *Epist.* 50, c. 1; *in Galat.* II. 13.

[4] *Epist.* 22, c. 30.

[5] *Ibid.* 3, c. 5; 4, c. 10.

dream[1]. He abandoned, for the time at least, his classics and his philosophy, and rushed into the Syrian desert. There he occupied himself at first with the hand-labour which has often soothed burning brains, and afterwards with the transcription of books. But he found no peace. His desert solitude was filled with voluptuous visions of the world which he wished to leave. Prayer and meditation were often impossible[2].

In the desert, 374.

But one thing happened in Jerome's retirement which makes an epoch in the history of the Christian Church; he learned Hebrew from a converted Jew[3]. He was probably the first member of the Latin Church who was able to read the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the original tongue; and this learning was to bear much fruit.

Ordained Priest, 379 ?.

In Constantinople, 380.

At Rome, 382 ?

Revises Old Latin, 383.

391.

When Jerome left the desert he betook himself to Antioch, where he was ordained priest with the understanding that he was not to be required to undertake a pastoral charge[4]. Thence he passed to Constantinople, where he read the Scriptures with Gregory of Nazianzus and improved his knowledge of Greek[5]. About two years after his arrival in Constantinople we find him again in Rome, where he acted as secretary to pope Damasus, and was for a time, though still only a presbyter, one of the greatest powers in Christendom. It was at the bidding of Damasus that he undertook a revision of the Old Latin translation of the New Testament[6], the copies of which varied in an extraordinary degree; he also revised the Latin Version of the Old Testament with the help of the Septuagint, and somewhat later translated it afresh from the Hebrew[7]. His labours were received with no favour by the multitude. The Old Latin was the only Bible they knew; in the instruction of the young, in sermons and devotional writings, it had grown familiar; its quaintness, its very faults were dear. But in the end Jerome's revised version became, what it is to this day, the Bible in common use, the Versio Vulgata, in every part of the Latin Church. Its influence on Latin theology has been enormous, since for a thousand years Latin writers, with the rarest possible exceptions, knew the Scriptures in no other form than that which Jerome had given them.

---

[1] *Epist.* 22. c. 1.

[2] To this period belong *Epistt.* 5—14. See *De Viris Illustr.* c. 135.

[3] *Epist.* 125, c. 12.

[4] *C. Joannem Hierosol.* c. 41.

[5] *In Esaiam*, VI. 1; *in Ephes.* V. 32; *De Viris Illust.* c. 117; *c. Jovinianum* I. 13.

[6] *Epistt.* 19, 20, 21.

[7] He gives some account of this in the *Prologus Galeatus* to the Books of Kings. See B. F. Westcott in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, III. 1696 ff.

Influence in Rome.

But Jerome's life in Rome was by no means wholly literary; he gained there a very remarkable influence in the highest ranks. He was not a man to compromise with the paganism which still pervaded Roman society. In the midst of luxury he practised and advocated simplicity and even rigour of life. Over certain noble ladies, in particular, his influence was great and lasting[1]. Fashionable society lampooned him, and in the year 385 he left the half pagan city[2] for the Holy Land, and in the following year, when he was about forty years old, settled at Bethlehem. His devoted friend Paulla, a Roman lady of rank and wealth, soon followed him, and by her means a monastery was built over which Jerome presided, and a convent for women of which she herself was the head. There was also a hospice for the pilgrims who now began to pour into Palestine to visit the place made sacred by the Lord's footsteps[3]. There he passed the last thirty-four years of his life, and there he died, worn out with constant toil, and in poverty, which he sometimes mentions in his letters, but of which he never complains. He and Paulla had spent their means on the establishments at Bethlehem. The day of his death is generally believed to have been Sept. 30, A.D. 420, when he must have been between seventy and eighty years of age[4]. But as to this there is much uncertainty.

Leaves Rome, 385.

At Bethlehem, 386.

Died, 420.

Though the last years of Jerome's life were spent in one spot, they were full of mental activity. It was at Bethlehem that he finished his translation of the Bible. But beside this great work there was hardly a controversy of his time in which he did not eagerly engage, so that he left behind a large collection of letters and other writings.

---

[1] *Epistt.* 39, c. 1; 45, cc. 2, 3, 5, 7; 49, cc. 1 and 4; 50, c. 3; 66, c. 9. In this period *Epistt.* 23, 34, and 37—44, were written.

[2] *Ibid.* 45.

[3] *Ibid.* 108, cc. 6, 14, 19; 66, c. 14; 129, c. 4.

[4] Prosper Aquitan. *Chronicon* ad an. 420 (col. 741 *Opp.* ed. Paris). Spurious works relating to St Jerome are attributed to Eusebius of Cremona, Augustin and Cyril of Jerusalem.

Character.

St Jerome is generally painted as an emaciated man, in a cave or cell, with a book; and this representation indicates the two things for which he is chiefly remarkable—his devotion to the ascetic life and his learning. Until the time of Erasmus he remained the first scholar of the Western Church; a scholar, not only in his love for the old classic writers, and in his vigorous and expressive style, but in bringing a scholarly spirit to the interpretation of the Bible. He was not content, like his predecessors in the West, to know the Scriptures only at second hand; he would know the original text, and illustrate it by all the grammatical and historical knowledge which was within his reach. His great snare was his vehemence of temperament. With his incisive satirical bitterness and contempt for his opponents he scarcely ever put pen to paper without making a life-long enemy. Still, with all his faults, Jerome had immense influence on his own age, and remains one of the most striking figures in Christian antiquity.

Rufinus, born c. 345.

One whose name is always connected with that of Jerome, his friend in youth, his foe in old age, was Tyrannius Rufinus. Born near Aquileia, he early entered a monastery in that city. His passion for the ascetic life drew him, like Jerome, to the old home of asceticism, Egypt, where he saw the great Athanasius and visited many of the monks and hermits who peopled the Thebaid. But he also made the acquaintance of the learned Didymus in Alexandria, where he stayed several years, and acquired that love for the Greek theology, and most of all for Origen, which bore fruit in after years. In the year 377 he passed on to Jerusalem, where for twenty years he lived as a monk on the Mount of Olives, during which period he was embroiled with Jerome on the questions which arose about Origen. In the year 397 he returned to Italy, having been for the time reconciled to Jerome. The strife, however, broke out anew, and was carried on by both the parties with the most ruthless animosity. From the time of his return to Italy, Rufinus lived mostly at Aquileia, engaged in literary work, until the invasion of the West-Goths drove him to seek refuge in the South. He died in Messina in the year 410. The fame of Rufinus rests principally on his translations. He published a free

Monk, c. 370.

At Jerusalem, 377.

In Italy, 397.

Died, 410.

translation or adaptation of Eusebius's Church History, which he continued to the death of Theodosius I.; he collected and translated lives of the Egyptian ascetics; he made Origen known in the West by translating a portion of his works; and it is to him that we owe our knowledge of the Clementine Recognitions, the original of which is lost. Without being a man of original power he rendered great service to the Western Church. His Lives of the Saints have retained considerable influence even to our own time.

St Augustin, born, 354.

The greatest of the Latin Fathers, the source and fount indeed of most of the Latin theology, was, it is generally agreed, Aurelius Augustinus, whom we commonly know as St Augustin[1]. And of all the Fathers he is best known to us, for in his *Confessions* he gives us a history of his religious opinions such as few men have left behind. He was born on the 13th Nov., 354, at Tagaste in Numidia, and received his first religious impressions from his good Christian mother Monica[2]. Endowed with the highest mental gifts and a temperament burning with Southern passion, he was in early days equally eager in the study of letters and in the pursuit of sensuous enjoyment. In this life of excitement the religious impressions of his childhood were for a time obliterated. It was the reading of Cicero's Hortensius which roused again in him the longing for the attainment of truth and for a higher and nobler life[3]. He read Scripture, but found its simplicity bald and unsatisfying[4]. He turned in his restlessness to the pretentious sect of the Manichæans[5], then widely spread in South Africa, attracted by their rigorous life and their claim to possess a hidden wisdom. From his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year he remained in the outer circle of the sect, hoping at last by initiation to

Manichæan, 374—383,

---

[1] Possidius, *Vita S. Aur. Augustini; Vita S. Augustini* in the Benedictine *Opera;* vol. 15, p. 1 ff. ed. Bassano 1797; vol. 32, p. 66 ff. in Migne's *Patrologia;* F. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Chr. u. ihre Zeugen,* vol. 11 (2nd ed.); C. Bindemann, *Der Heilige Augustinus;* Flottes, *Etudes sur St Augustin;* R. C. Trench, *Augustin as Interpreter of Scripture,* in his *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount from St Augustin;* W. Cunningham, *S. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought;* E. L. Cutts, *St Augustine* (S. P. C. K.); F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers,* II. 403 ff.

[2] *Confessiones,* I. 11.

[3] *Ib.* III. 4.

[4] *Ib.* III. 5.

[5] *Ib.* III. 6.

attain the knowledge of their mysteries[1]. Undeceived at last, he fell into despair of all truth[2]. From this painful state he was to some extent relieved by the works of the Neo-Platonists, which led him into a new world of thought. While the Manichæans had represented the world as agitated by the ceaseless contest of good and bad, of which man was the almost helpless sport, Neo-Platonism taught him that the good was the only real existence, that the bad was but the absence of good[3].

It was in this state of mind that Augustin, who had already taught rhetoric with success in Tagaste and in Carthage, passed over to Rome and thence to Milan. He was then religious after a fashion, but regarded Christianity as only for such as could not rise to the heights of philosophy. It was at this time that he became conscious of the divine force of St Paul's Epistles and that he fell under the influence of St Ambrose. He attended his preaching from admiration of his oratory and found himself pricked to the heart by the truths which he delivered. After a painful inward struggle he acknowledged the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, and was baptized by Ambrose in the year 387, together with his natural son Adeodatus. From this time began the controversy, which only ended with his life, against his old allies the Manichæans.

in Rome, 383. *Milan*, 384.

Baptized, 387.

In the year after his baptism he returned to Africa, where he lived in the country in a kind of monastic solitude, until in 392 he was ordained presbyter, much against his will, in Hippo Regius. Three years later he became its bishop. Henceforward, though bishop of a little town of no fame or importance, he belonged to the Church at large. He was in constant communication with all parts of the Latin Church, urging, advising, controverting. He died on the 28th of August, 430, while Hippo was besieged by the invading army of the Vandals.

Presbyter, 392.

Bishop of Hippo, 395.

Died, 430.

He had unceasingly employed both tongue and pen in the service of the Church. He vindicated the ways of God to man against those who distrusted divine providence; he asserted the true idea of the Church against those who resisted its authority; in a society still hot with the embers of the Arian controversy he expounded the mystery of the Holy Trinity; he maintained man's need of the grace of God against those who contended that his natural powers were sufficient for him. In a word, there was no prominent question of his time which he did not discuss and illustrate, and his influence generally settled the disputed points in the form which he preferred. He had a quick and lively fancy, and a mind of almost unequalled ingenuity and readiness. Arguments and analogies never fail him. Probably no writer has produced so many striking maxims. But it is not his imagination or his dialectic skill which has given him the immense and abiding influence which he has in fact exercised in Latin Christianity. This he owes to a combination of dialectic power with an earnestness in believing, a conviction of the lost condition of those who deliberately reject the gifts which Christ has left in His Church, a knowledge of the human heart, a devoutness, tenderness, and sympathy, such as has fallen to the lot of few. It would be too much to say that his treatment of great questions is always adequate and satisfactory. His extraordinary skill in reply seems sometimes to have hidden even from himself the real force of the statement which he answers; and, writing as he did in haste and with warmth, he found in cooler moments many things in his own works which he wished to withdraw or modify[1]. But, take him for all in all, no writer in the Latin Church was ever endowed with more brilliant gifts or used them with greater zeal for the glory of God than St Augustin.

---

[1] *Confessiones*, IV. 1.

[2] *Ib.* V. 7, 10, 11.

[3] *Ib.* VII. 9 ff.

Paulinus of Nola, b. 353.

An excellent instance of a man of wealth and culture brought to forsake the world is Paulinus of Nola[2], who was born at Bordeaux of a wealthy and distinguished Roman family. While still in Bordeaux he was a pupil of the poet Ausonius, a friend of his father's. In 379 he was consul and everything seemed to promise him a brilliant secular career, when a new influence turned him aside.

Consul, 379.

---

[1] Few writers have displayed so much candour in acknowledging their own errors as St Augustin in his *Retractationes*.

[2] H. Vaughan, *The Life of the blessed Paulinus* (Lond. 1654); A. Buse, *Paulin v. Nola u. s. Zeit;* J. J. Ampère, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. I. p. 271 ff.; Lagrange, *Vie de St Paulin* (reviewed by Gaston Boissier in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1878, vol. 28); A. Ebert, *Christ. Lat. Lit.* I. 284 ff.; W. Möller *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 384.

He was greatly struck by the veneration paid to Christian martyrs; Martin of Tours and Ambrose gained great influence on his mind, and he was seized with a great anxiety lest the last day should overtake him while engaged in things that profit not. When a much longed-for child was taken away after a few days' life, he and his wife, who was also rich, agreed to sell that they had and give to the poor, and so to withdraw from the peril of riches and from the deceitful world. His family were greatly troubled, but Martin was delighted with the man who had supplied an almost unique example of obedience to a hard precept of the Gospel[1]. In a hospice which they had built at Nola he and his wife spent their days in the most rigorous self-mortification. But in all his austerity Paulinus retained his naturally kindly and genial character. Friend as he was of Jerome and Augustin, he did not break with Rufinus and Pelagius. His writings consist of Letters and Poems, often of great interest for the history of the time as well as for the life of the poet himself. It is curious to see the utmost rudeness of life recommended in the language of courtly and artificial poetry; almost as if Quakerism had been preached in the style of Pope. He was chosen Bishop of Nola in the year 409, and died there in 431.

Adopts the Monastic Life, 394.

Bishop, 409, *died*, 431.

Another Latin poet, like Paulinus of distinguished family and engaged in early years in affairs of state, was the Spaniard Prudentius[2]. He, feeling as he grew old that the pursuits in which he had been engaged were such as profit not in the day of judgment, set himself to hymn, in a style imitative of the old Roman poets, the heroes of the noble army of martyrs, and even to inveigh in verse against the enemies of Christian truth.

Prudentius, *b.* 348, *d. after* 405.

Leo[3], the first pope of that name, was also the first

Leo the Great, *Pope*, 440—461.

---

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 25.

[2] J. Brys, *De Vita et Scriptis Prud.* (Louvain, 1855); Delavigne, *De Lyrica apud Prud. Poesi* (Toulouse 1849); C. Brockhaus, *Prudentius's Bedeutung für die Kirche;* A. Ebert, *Christl. Lat. Lit.* I. 243 ff.; W. Lock in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 500. Some of his poems have been translated by the Rev. F. St John Thackeray and others.

[3] W. Arendt, *Leo der Grosse u. s. Zeit;* A. de St Chéron, *Hist. de St Léon;* E. Perthel, *Leo's I. Leben u. Lehren;* A. Ebert, *Christl. Lat. Lit.* I. 447 ff.; C. Merivale, *Lectures on Early Ch. Hist.*, Lect. 3.

pope of whom we know any literary productions. It was during his tenure of the Papacy that he delivered the sermons which have come down to us. If they have not Augustin's wealth of thought nor Ambrose's eloquence, they are written in a style which is good for its time, clear, vigorous, and by no means common-place. He attains perhaps his highest eloquence when he speaks of that see of Rome which he had himself done so much to raise to power over the Church. Leo's letters are also of the highest interest as documents of Church History, but these should perhaps be regarded rather as despatches from the papal chancery than as the work of the pope himself[1]. In any case, they are well written.

Boethius, born c. 480.

Severinus Boethius[2], a Roman philosopher and statesman, holds a place apart in the history of the Church. Born in Rome, he rose to high place and dignity under the great king of the East-Goths, Theoderic. Falling, however under suspicion of a treasonable correspondence with the court of Byzantium, he was cast into prison and in the year 525 put to death. During his captivity he wrote his treatise "on the Consolation of Philosophy," which, though it rather breathes the spirit of the old Roman Stoicism than of Christianity, brought to its author the reputation of a great theologian and was much studied in the Middle Ages, as the work of

Put to death, 525.

"That holy soul who maketh manifest
The cheating world to him who hears aright[3]."

Mediæval readers probably found in him something which was wanting in the Scholastic theology. In Pavia, where he was buried, he has even been venerated under the title of St Severinus, and the Papal Congregazione dei Riti in

---

[1] Arendt, *Leo d. G.* p. 421.

[2] The principal authorities for the life of Boethius are the letters of Cassiodorus and Ennodius, and the History of Procopius. Modern writings are [Gervais] *Hist. de Boëce* (Paris, 1715); Heyne, *Censura Boethii*, in *Opusc.* vi. 143; F. Hand, in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encyclop.* xi. 283; Gust. Baur, *De Boethio* (Darmst. 1841); F. Nitzsch, *d. System d. Boeth.* and *Boeth. u. Dante;* Prietzel, *Boethius u. seine Stellung zum Christentum;* A. Hildebrand, *Boethius u. seine Stellung zum Christentum;* E. M. Young in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 320. Boethius's treatise *De Consol. Phil.* was translated by King Alfred.

[3] Dante, *Paradise*, x. 125 (Plumptre's translation); compare *Convito*, ii. 13.

1884 expressly allowed this cultus. His translations and explanations of some of the treatises of Aristotle greatly influenced the philosophy of the Schoolmen. It is doubtful whether he was really the author of the dogmatic treatises attributed to him.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTROVERSIES ON THE FAITH.

I. *Standards of Doctrine.*

CHAP. XI.

HOLY SCRIPTURE.

1. THE Scriptures[1] had in the fourth century, as in all ages, a unique respect. Every dogmatic statement must be capable of proof from Scripture[2], and opinions which wanted this support could not be recognized as essential to the Catholic faith. This universal recognition of Scripture as of the highest authority seems to presume that the limits of Scripture are exactly known. But in fact, though there was in ancient times no very conspicuous controversy on the matter, there was no absolute agreement in all parts of the Church as to the contents of the Sacred Canon.

Old Testament.

Greek canon.

Athanasius.

With regard to the Old Testament, the most competent judges among the ancient Fathers recognized only the books of the Hebrew canon as irrefragable, and regarded the later additions of the Alexandrians, contained in the Septuagint, as of much less weight and value. This view prevailed in the Greek Church, and was supported by the great authority of Athanasius[3]. He recognized only the books of the Hebrew canon as in the strictest sense canonical; others, contained in the Greek canon, he held might be read "for example of life and instruction of manners"—a rule adopted by the English Church—while he applied the term "apocrypha" to spurious books which claimed authority under venerable names. Still, copies of the Septuagint translation, to which a special sanctity was given by the legend of its origin, continued to be sent forth, and gave currency to the non-Hebrew books which formed part of it, though it can scarcely be said that even to this day the Greek Church has adopted the Alexandrian canon. In the Western Church Rufinus[1] gave his authority to a division equivalent to that of Athanasius. The first class, from which the faith is to be established, he called Canonical; the second Ecclesiastical; the third Apocryphal. Jerome[2] however used the word "Apocrypha" so as to include all books not found in the Hebrew canon, and this is the sense which has become familiar in the Anglican Church. This usage is also adopted in the so-called sixtieth canon of the Council of Laodicea[3], which, if not genuine, is probably an ancient gloss. Still, the current Latin Bible was a translation from the Septuagint, giving no indication that the books contained in it were not all of the same authority, and the great leaders of the Latin Church were unwilling to draw distinctions which might shake the received tradition. Hence Augustin, who is followed by the great mass of later Latin writers, cites all the books in question as alike Scripture, and, when he gives a list of the books of which "the whole canon of the Scriptures" consists[4], makes no clear distinction between the strictly canonical and the other books. It was doubtless under his influence that, at the third Council of Carthage[5], a list of the books of Holy Scripture was agreed upon in which the Apocryphal books are mingled with those of the Hebrew canon. From this period "usage received all the books of the enlarged canon more and more generally as equal in all respects; learned tradition kept alive the distinction between the Hebrew canon and the Apocrypha which had been drawn by Jerome[6]."

---

[1] See p. 108, n. 1, and add J. Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Neutestam. Canons;* Overbeck, *Zur Geschichte des Canons;* Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutest. Canons.*

[2] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* IV. 17: *δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν.*

[3] *Epist. Festal.* (A.D. 365), tom. I. pt. ii. p. 962 (ed. Ben.).

Rufinus.

Jerome.

c. 372 (?)

Augustin.

Council at Carthage, A.D. 397.

As regards the New Testament, the Latin Church adopted in the fourth century the complete canon which

New Testament.

---

[1] *Expos. in Symbol.*, cc. 37, 38.

[2] In the *Prologus Galeatus*, prefixed to the Books of Kings.

[3] Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 791.

[4] *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. 8.

[5] Can. 47, in Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 968.

[6] Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 190.

is received at present, though occasional doubts were still expressed as to the admission of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans was often inserted among those of St Paul. The Church of Alexandria also received the full canon of the Latin Church. In the East generally it was otherwise. The great writers of the Syrian Church supply no evidence of the use of the Epistle of Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, or the Apocalypse, while Junilius places the Epistle of St James in the same class with these books which were not universally received. The Churches of Asia Minor received generally all the books of the New Testament contained in the African canon except the Apocalypse. This is definitely excluded from the list of Gregory of Nazianzus[1], and pronounced spurious in that of Amphilochius[2]. It is not included in the Laodicene canon, nor in that given by Cyril of Jerusalem[3]. Epiphanius however, though he notices the doubts which were entertained as to this book, adopts the canon[4] of Africa and the West, which includes it. The Church of Constantinople does not seem to have recognized it until a late period.

Syrian Canon.

Junilius, c. 550.

Asia Minor.

Everywhere and by all schools of thought the Holy Scriptures were accepted as inspired, in a very special manner, by God Himself[5]; and almost everywhere the allegorical—often called the spiritual—method of interpretation was adopted. Plain history vanished in a cloud of mystic meaning, often of great beauty. Orthodox and heretical disputants alike commonly used this method. So clear-sighted a theologian as Athanasius however, though brought up in the very home of allegory, saw the necessity, for any sound interpretation of St Paul, of taking account of the time of writing, the person of the writer, and the matter about which he wrote[6].

Inspiration.

Allegory.

2. Besides the Scriptures, it was generally acknowledged that very great respect was to be paid to the voice of the actually existing Church, to the developments of a

THE CHURCH AND ITS TRADITION.

---

[1] *Carmina*, xii. 31; in Westcott *on the Canon*, 574.

[2] *Iambi ad Seleucum;* in Westcott, 575.

[3] *Cateches.* IV. 33.

[4] *Hæres.* 76, p. 941 Petav.

[5] See Westcott's essay on *the Primitive Doctrine of Inspiration*, in his *Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 383 ff.

[6] *Orat. c. Arianos*, I. 54.

body having a continuous and divine life. In matters of ritual, the actual usage of the Church was held sufficient to justify such things as the trine immersion in baptism, or the words of the Invocation in the Holy Eucharist, which were confessedly not found in Holy Scripture[1]. But in matters of doctrine also, in an age when there was a fierce war of parties which all claimed the support of the Scriptures, appeal was made to the voice of the Church itself. This voice was found in the formularies of faith set forth by the representatives of the whole Church solemnly assembled in council. In the end, it turned out not to be always easy to determine what councils were to be held to represent the whole Church[2].

RULES OF FAITH.

3. We have seen already[3] that it was found necessary to draw up short summaries of the faith of Christians, both for the instruction of those who were without and for the confirmation of those who were within the Church. Such Rules of Faith were found at this period in various Churches, but no one formula was universally adopted by the whole of the Christian Church. In the fourth century this was changed. The whole Church by its representatives in council set forth a confession of faith[4] which was to be adopted by all Catholics throughout the world. The Church itself appears as giving authority to a Creed, not as independent of Scripture, but as founded on it. It was admitted that a council which fairly represented the Church at large, meeting and deliberating as in God's sight, might look for special guidance and enlightenment of the Holy Ghost. Constantine[5] claims such guidance for the Council of Nicæa; Isidore of Pelusium[6] speaks of it as divinely inspired; Basil the Great[7] says that the Fathers of Nicæa spake not without the influence of the Holy Spirit; the Fathers themselves[8] express a humble trust that what they have done is well-pleasing to God the

put forth by General Councils.

---

[1] Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 67, ed. Bened.

[2] See p. 196.

[3] p. 111 ff. Add to note, C. A. Swainson, art. *Creed*, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 695 ff.

[4] Ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς στίχοις τὸ πᾶν δόγμα τῆς πίστεως περιλαμβανόμενον. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cateches.* v. 12.

[5] Socrates, *H. E.* I. 9, p. 30.

[6] *Epist.* IV. 99.

[7] *Epist.* 114.

[8] In their Synodical Epistle, Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 8, p. 33. The copy in Socrates (*H. E.* I. 9, p. 30) differs somewhat from that given by Theodoret.

Father in the Holy Spirit. Yet even St Augustin did not regard the decisions of an œcumenical council as absolutely conclusive for all time; a later council may be called upon to amend the decisions of an earlier[1]; when Rimini is quoted against Nicæa, recourse must be had to that which all parties acknowledge—Scripture and reason[2].

II. *The Holy Trinity.*

THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY[3].

1. The greatest dogmatic conflict which the Church had to endure broke out in the early part of the fourth century. Arius was a person of considerable mark among the presbyters of Alexandria. He is described as a man of impressive appearance and of strictly ascetic life, yet with kindly and attractive manner and bearing; but he was charged with a certain vanity and lightness of mind. He had been a pupil of the famous Lucian of Antioch, who had been accused of sharing the opinions of Paul of Samosata[4], and these views he also was thought to hold. The first beginnings of the strife are obscured by discrepancy of testimony, but on the tenets of Arius there is practically no doubt. In his view the Son is a creation out of nothing by the will of God the Father; a divine being, created before the worlds, but still a creature. As a father must exist before his son, the Son of God is not co-eternal with the Father; there was a time when He was not. It was through Him that God made the worlds, yet He is not in His proper nature incapable of sin, though by the exertion of His own will he was preserved from it[5]. Against this

---

[1] *De Baptismo c. Donatistas*, II. 3.

[2] *C. Maximin. Arian.* II. 14. 3.

[3] The original documents on this subject are the histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Philostorgius. The last-named, of whose work only an epitome by Photius remains, gives the Arian view. Information of the highest value is found in the works of Athanasius, and some fragments of Arian works are preserved; see *Fragmenta Arianorum*, in Angelo Mai's *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, tom. 3 (Rome, 1828). See also Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 69—77. Of modern works on the subject may be mentioned, besides the principal Church-histories, L. Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'Arianisme;* C. W. F. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, vols. 2 and 3; J. H. Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century;* F. C. Baur, *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, I. 306—825; J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, I. 773—939 (2nd Ed.), trans. by Alexander and Simon; H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism;* A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, II. 182—275.

[4] See p. 118.

[5] Arius's opinions were stated by himself in a letter to Eusebius

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, asserted the co-existence of God the Father and God the Son from all eternity; never was there a time when the Father was not the Father, when the Son was not the Son[1]. Doctrines so startling as those of Arius could not pass unquestioned. For some years the Church in Alexandria was disturbed by the disputes which arose about them. Alexander probably hoped to overcome Arius by gentle treatment. When he was disappointed in his hope, Arius was at length excommunicated by a synod of about one hundred African and Libyan bishops, and with him certain presbyters and deacons of Alexandria, while the Libyan bishops Theonas and Secundus were deposed from their offices.

Synod at Alexandria, c. 320.

Driven from Alexandria, Arius betook himself to Palestine, whence he wrote to his old fellow-student under Lucian, Eusebius the influential bishop of Nicomedia, who at once bestirred himself to gain adherents for him. He was so successful that a Bithynian synod under his influence pronounced in favour of the opinions of Arius, and Eusebius of Cæsarea attempted to mediate between Alexander and his presbyter[2]. To whatever influence it may have been due, Arius returned to Alexandria and resumed his functions. Several bishops took his part, but Alexander and his friends remained firm. And not only did bishop contend with bishop; mob contended with mob in many cities of the East.

A.D. 323. *Constantine's Letter.*

It was at this critical time that Constantine overcame Licinius and became sole ruler of the Roman world. When the strife in the Church came to his knowledge, he wrote, or caused to be written, a remarkable letter[3] to Alexander and Arius. The discussion appeared to him a mere play of nimble wits, asking questions which ought not to be asked and giving answers which ought not to be given; he begs the combatants therefore to restore to their emperor his quiet days and tranquil nights by making such mutual concessions as may restore peace to the Church. The letter however produced no good result,

---

of Nicomedia preserved by Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 5. Compare his *Epist. ad Alexandrum,* in Athanasius, *de Synodo Arim.* c. 16.

[1] See the letter of Alexander in Theodoret, i. 4, p. 11 f.

[2] Sozomen, *H. E.* i. 15, p. 33.

[3] In Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* ii. 64—73.

CHAP. XI.

Athanasius.

nor could Hosius of Cordova, the emperor's confidential adviser, who brought it to Alexandria, effect a reconciliation between the opposing parties[1]. There was one in Alexandria who, though his works belong mainly to a later period, had already the influence which his character could not fail to win, and who would certainly not tolerate any compromise with error. This was Athanasius, who was constantly by the side of Alexander, and who maintained now, as throughout his eventful life, with all his force the great truth, that the Son was God from all eternity, and that He became very Man. It is to be observed, that Athanasius connects the Divinity of the Son with the Redemption of man much more prominently than his contemporaries. How, he asks, could Christ make us partakers of the Divine nature, if He were Himself only a partaker, and not the source and origin of it? This lies indeed at the root of the Athanasian theology; in the Son we have the Father; whoso knoweth the Son knoweth the Father; if the Son be a creature, we cannot worship Him[2]. One who held these views could evidently not concede one jot or one tittle to the Arians.

Constantine summons a Council.

Constantine's well-meant attempt therefore came to nothing. As however the emperor attached the utmost importance to the unity of the Church, which he hoped to make the chief bond of the unwieldy empire, he determined to make yet another effort to secure it. He resolved, by the advice of Hosius, to invite the bishops of the whole Church to a council at Nicæa[3] in Bithynia, not far from the southern shore of the Black Sea. The emperor himself issued the summonses, placed the public posting-houses at the disposal of the bishops who journied to Bithynia, and provided for their maintenance. From all parts of the empire they came, and even from beyond its limits arrived a Persian and a Scythian[4]. They came, we may well believe, full of hope at the new prospects which were opening to the Church, and with some

Nicæa, A.D. 325.

---

[1] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. 16.

[2] See, for example, *De Synodis*, c. 51; *c. Arian.* Orat. I. 10, 12, 30, 38, 39; II. 16, 17, 20, 24; III. 16.

[3] Among the principal works on this Council are, T. Ittig, *Hist. Concilii Nicæni;* J. Kaye, *Athanasius and the Council of Nicæa;* C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I. 219 ff.; A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, Lectt. 2—5; A. de Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire*, vols. 1 and 2.

[4] Socrates, *H. E.* I. 8, p. 19.

curiosity to see the great ruler of the Roman world. The bishop of Rome, who was precluded by his advanced age from undertaking the journey to Nicæa, was represented by two presbyters. His name does not appear in any of the documents connected with the council, and it is quite uncertain whether he was one of those whose advice the emperor privately sought. Eusebius[1] reckons the number of bishops who took part in the council at more than two hundred and fifty, and these were accompanied by a very large number of presbyters, deacons, and other attendants. Among the deacons was Athanasius. Athanasius[2] makes the whole number three hundred and eighteen, a number which Ambrose[3] observed with delight was that of Abraham's trained servants[4], and which has ever since remained the traditional number of attendants at the council, so that it is frequently referred to as "the three hundred and eighteen." The Greeks attended in large numbers; of the Latins, who were much less numerous, the most distinguished representatives were the well-known Hosius and Cæcilian of Carthage. Many of those who were present were highly respected for their piety and for the sufferings which they had endured in the still recent persecution; some were distinguished theologians; some were probably simple men to whom the very watchwords of the contest were new and strange. There were present also at some of the preliminary discussions many laymen, skilled rhetoricians, ready to advocate the views of one side or other. It was the fluent talk of these gentlemen which roused one of the confessors, himself a layman, to declare that Christ and the Apostles handed down to us no dialectic art or vain craft, but simple maxims guarded by faith and good works[5]. It is not improbable that (as Rufinus[6] implies) even heathen philosophers took part in these informal debates.

Number present.

The Meeting.

The great assembly met in the largest room of the palace at Nicæa, in which there was placed at one end a gilded chair for the emperor, while the seats of the bishops were arranged on each side. When the members of the council were placed, the emperor, in splendid robes, entered the hall, without military guard, and passed with stately tread to the seat placed for him, in which however he did not place himself until some of the bishops motioned him to do so. When he was seated, one of the bishops—either Eusebius of Cæsarea[1] or Eustathius of Antioch[2]—rose and addressed him. When this address was ended, Constantine rose, and with a pleasant countenance and in a gentle voice made his reply, thanking God for having permitted him to see the representatives of the Church brought together into one assembly, and earnestly entreating his hearers to maintain the peace and harmony which became the ministers of God[3]. On concluding his speech—which was in Latin, and was at once rendered into Greek by an interpreter—he handed over the conduct of the meeting to the presidents and left the hall. Who the presidents (πρόεδροι) were is uncertain. It is natural to suppose that Hosius of Cordova, who was the emperor's confidant, and whose name stands first among the signatures to the decrees, was at any rate one of them. Others were probably the prelates of the two great sees of Alexandria and Antioch, Alexander and Eustathius; perhaps also Eusebius of Cæsarea.

---

[1] *Vita Constant.* III. 8.

[2] *Epist. ad Afros*, c. 2.

[3] *Epist. ad Gratian. De Fide*, I. prol. 3.

[4] Gen. xiv. 14.

[5] Socrates, *H. E.* I. 8, p. 19.

[6] *Hist. Eccl.* X. 3.

Constantine's Speech.

There were three groups in the assembly; the small party of Arians, under the guidance of Eusebius of Nicomedia; the party of Alexander, to which the Western bishops generally belonged; and the moderate men, who looked upon Eusebius of Cæsarea as their leader. It was acknowledged on all hands that the council was bound to produce such an authoritative statement of the true faith as might serve to guide the minds of believers in their present perplexity. The party who were soon called Eusebians, from their leader the bishop of Nicomedia, first proposed a form of Creed which was little less than undisguised Arianism. When this had been rejected with indignation, Eusebius of Cæsarea put forward for

The three Groups.

Proposed Creed.

---

[1] Sozomen, I. 17.

[2] Theodoret, I. 6. The extant oration however said to have been delivered by Eustathius on this occasion (see Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* ix. p. 132 ff.) is unquestionably of much later date than the council, and Bishop Lightfoot (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 313) has no doubt that Eusebius was the orator.

[3] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III. 12; Sozomen, I. 19; Socrates, I. 8; Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 7.

adoption the Creed which he had himself received as a catechumen and taught as a presbyter and a bishop[1]. This was drawn up in terms either actually Scriptural or already familiar to the Church. The emperor approved it; the council at first said nothing against it. But it did not in set terms repudiate Arian doctrine. Alexander and his friends consequently insisted on the insertion of more exact definitions, and this was supported by the earnest eloquence and keen dialectics of Athanasius. After several proposals and long debates a formula was at length arrived at to which all but a very small minority were content to subscribe[2]. This differs in several particulars from the Creed with which we are familiar under the name "Nicene." The beginning of the second clause ran thus:—"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from the Father only-born, that is from the essence of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, Very God from Very God, begotten, not made, of one and the same essence with the Father; through Whom all things were made." And the Creed, which ends with the words "and in the Holy Ghost," was followed by an anathema on those who say that there was a time when the Son was not, that before He was begotten He was not, that He came into being out of things that were not; and on those who allege that He is of a different substance or essence from God [the Father] and is capable of being created or changed or altered. In a word, all the characteristic opinions of the Arians were condemned. To this Creed nearly all the bishops who were present assented, some—as Eusebius of Cæsarea—with great reluctance. Only two refused at the time to accept it, but two others—Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa—continued to hold communion with Arius. The latter was condemned, and banished by a decree of the emperor, who endeavoured to fix upon him and his adherents the nick-name "Porphyrian," from Porphyry, the well-known pagan enemy of the faith of Christ[3].

Creed adopted.

Arius condemned.

---

[1] Theodoret, I. 12, p. 38.

[2] This is found in the letter of Eusebius to the people of Cæsarea, given in Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 12, p. 38 f.; Socrates, I. 8, p. 24; in Mansi, *Conc.* II. 916; Hahn's *Bibliothek*, p. 78 ff.

[3] Socrates, I. 9, p. 31.

Results of Nicene Council.

Important

It might have been expected that the almost unanimous decision of such an assembly as that of Nicæa would have put an end to the strife. This was however very far from being the case; it was rather the beginning than the end. The West indeed generally accepted the Nicene Faith, but in the East there arose opponents of it in almost every city. It was not that all these sympathized with the views of Arius, but that a large party in the Church was reluctant to receive a document which described the mysteries of the faith in other than Scriptural terms, and which even adopted a word (ὁμοούσιος) which had been condemned by a provincial council as favouring the views of Paul of Samosata, who denied the Divinity of the Son altogether[1]. This party was commonly called Semiarian. Eusebius of Cæsarea however, its leader, was himself orthodox[2]. He expressly repudiates the two main theses of Arius, that the Word was a creature and that there was a time when He was not[3]. The opposition to the Nicene decision was moreover strengthened by the fact that the views of the emperor himself changed, probably under the influence of his sister Constantia, a disciple of Eusebius of Nicomedia. This prelate kept up a vigorous agitation against Athanasius, who had become bishop of Alexandria, and several respected bishops took the side of Arius, who had meantime diffused his views in a popular work called Thalia. Arius was allowed to submit to the emperor a statement of his belief which avoided the particular terms which had given most offence. Constantine was still bent upon promoting unity; and he seems to have been led to believe that it would conduce to this end if both Athanasius and his active supporter Eustathius were removed from the positions which they occupied. Eustathius was deposed and banished in the year 330, and Eusebius of Nicomedia then proceeded to attack Athanasius by stirring up against him all the discontented in his own diocese, especially

Semiarians.

Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, 8 June, 328.

Eustathius banished A.D. 330.

---

[1] See p. 118, n. 3. The word ὁμοούσιος first occurs in Irenæus's account of the Valentinians, *Hæres.* I. 5. § 1.

[2] Bishop Bull and Dr Cave are among his defenders, and even Dr Newman admits (*Arians*, p. 262) that there is nothing in his works to convict him of heresy.

[3] *C. Marcellum*, I. 4, p. 22; *De Eccl. Theol.* I. 2, 3, p. 61 f., *ib.* 8, 9, 10, p. 66 f.; *Theoph.* II. 3. See Lightfoot, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 347.

the Meletians[1], who thought that they were aggrieved[2]. Athanasius however was able to defend himself successfully before the emperor against these attacks. But his enemies gave him no rest, and in the year 335 he had to appear before a synod convened by the emperor at Tyre[3], at which sixty bishops, mainly Eusebians, were present. This synod deposed Athanasius from his see, and the bishops who composed it, proceeding to Jerusalem for the consecration of the church of the Anastasis which the emperor had built, declared themselves favourable to the recall of Arius[4]. Athanasius meantime had presented himself before the emperor at Constantinople, and his visit had at first the effect which his remarkable personal influence seldom failed to produce. But when his opponents appeared, and alleged against him that he had boasted that he was able to prevent the usual fleet of corn-ships from leaving the harbour of Alexandria, the emperor changed his mind, and sentenced him to be banished to Treves. Preparations were made for the solemn restitution of Arius to his office in Alexandria, which were however stopped by his sudden death. After the death of Constantine Athanasius returned to his see, but the influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had been raised by Constantius, the new ruler of the East, to the throne of Constantinople, rendered his position untenable. He was compelled to give place to an intruding bishop, Gregory, who was thrust upon the exasperated Alexandrians by actual armed force. He was kindly received in his exile by Julius, bishop of Rome. At Rome too Marcellus[5], bishop of Ancyra, who had been at Nicæa one of the most ardent defenders of the Homoousian creed, was hospitably entertained. In his

Synod of Tyre, 335.

Athanasius exiled, 336.

Death of Arius, 336.

337.

19 March, 340.

---

[1] See above, p. 151.

[2] Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 68, p. 723 A) seems to imply that Athanasius dealt roughly with them—"ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐβιάζετο."

[3] Athanasius, *Apol.* II.; Socrates, I. 28 ff.; Sozomen, II. 25; Theodoret, I. 28 ff. Documents in Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 539 ff.; a good summary in Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, I. 353 (ed. Basel, 1741).

[4] Athanasius, *Apol.* II.; Socrates, I. 28 f.; Sozomen, II. 25; Theodoret, I. 29 ff.; Hardouin I. 551 ff.

[5] The views of Marcellus are known principally from the two treatises of Eusebius of Cæsarea (*c. Marcellum* and *De Theologia Eccl.*) against him. See also Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* XV. 27—33; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 72. Modern works on him are: H. Rettberg, *Marcelliana* (Göttingen, 1794); Th. Zahn, *Marcell von Ancyra;* also his art. in Herzog's *R. E.* p. 279 (2nd ed.).

horror of Arianism, this prelate seems to have fallen into a doctrine too nearly resembling Sabellianism. He represented the Word in such a way that He did not appear as the Second Person in the Godhead, the Son from all eternity. The name "Son" is properly given to Him (in this view) only so far as He was incarnate, not in His proper nature. Doubtless the Word proceeded forth from God, and in His humanity was a distinct Person; but He is destined, when He shall have delivered up the Kingdom to GOD the Father, again to be absorbed into the Divine Unity. The synod at Constantinople in 336 condemned his doctrine and deposed him from his office. Like Athanasius, he returned to his see on the death of Constantine, and like him he was compelled to flee for refuge, which he found at Rome. Here he presented to the bishop his confession of faith, in terms practically identical with the creed of Rome[1], and was admitted to communion.

Marcellus condemned, 336.

When it became known in the East that men deprived of office by Eastern synods had been admitted to communion at Rome, great dissatisfaction arose. An important synod was held at Antioch (known as the "Dedication-Synod," from the circumstance that the bishops composing it attended the dedication of a church in that city), the canons of which were afterwards adopted into the universal code. At this assembly no less than four confessions of faith were produced[2], the second of which—known as Lucian's—without using the word Homoousios, repudiated in the strongest terms the characteristic doctrine of the Arians with regard to the Person of the Son, while the third condemned the opinions of Marcellus, who is classed with Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. This synod confirmed the sentence passed at Tyre upon Athanasius, and condemned generally any bishop who, being deposed by a synod, should appeal to another synod of the same kind, or to the emperor[3]. In the winter of the same year pope Julius held the council, of which he had some months before given notice to the Eastern prelates, in Rome[4]. Athana-

Dedication-Synod at Antioch, 341.

Synod at Rome, 341.

---

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 72, c. 3, p. 836. The creed of Marcellus may conveniently be compared with the Roman in Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 24 ff., or Hahn's *Bibliothek*, p. 13 f. See also Lumby, *Creeds*, p. 122.

[2] Hahn's *Bibliothek*, pp. 184, 103 ff.

[3] Canons 4 and 12.

[4] *Synodical Epistle* in Hardouin I. 609 ff.

sius, after a full examination of the charges against him, was pronounced innocent, and his right to communicate with the Roman Church fully recognized. Marcellus was declared orthodox. There was thus a clear divergence of the West from the East.

Council of Sardica, 344 (?)

Philippopolis.

With a view of putting an end to this dissension, the two emperors, Constans and Constantius, agreed to call a Council at Sardica[1]—Sofia in Bulgaria—on the frontiers of the two empires, but in the dominion of the Western. This however was far from promoting unity. No sooner did the Eastern clergy who were present learn that their Western brethren intended to treat Athanasius and Marcellus as lawful bishops than they left the council and assembled separately at Philippopolis. Those who remained at Sardica again acquitted Athanasius of the charges against him, and passed sentence of deposition against some of the most prominent bishops of the opposing party. Those who assembled at Philippopolis, on the other hand, sent out to the bishops of their party, and to the clergy in general, a letter[2] explaining their position, and condemning the conduct of Athanasius and Marcellus. To this was appended a confession of their faith[3], founded on the fourth of those which had been produced at Antioch. They condemned the opinions of Arius and those of Marcellus alike.

345.

Prolix Exposition.

The bishops of the East, assembled at Antioch, feeling that they were regarded with suspicion in the Western Church as inclining to Arianism, again endeavoured to clear themselves from the charge. In an Exposition of their Faith, which from its length came to be known as the Prolix Exposition, they expressed their belief in "the only-born Son of GOD, begotten of the Father before all ages; God from God, Light from Light; through Whom all things were made;" and they anathematized those who affirmed that the Son was made from nothing (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*), or from a different substance (*ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως*), or that there was a time when He was not. The ninth chapter of the Prolix Exposition might indeed be considered as a paraphrase of the word Homoousios. But they also condemned those who said that it was not by wishing or willing that the Father begat the Son. In this they condemned the Athanasians, who held that the eternal generation of the Son is of the essence of the Father, as inseparable from Him as His holiness or His wisdom. To say that the Son was produced by the wish or will of the Father seemed to them to approach perilously near to saying that He was a creature—though against this conclusion the bishops at Antioch had expressly guarded themselves. The Eastern bishops seem to have been genuinely anxious to find terms of agreement with their Western brethren, and they were certainly very far from holding those opinions of Arius which had been condemned; but no reconciliation was effected. A Western council at Milan rejected their overture.

---

[1] On the canons of Sardica, see above, p. 187, n. 3; on the date, see *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1842; *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 190; Mansi, III. 87 ff. The original authorities are Socrates, II. 20; Sozomen, III. 12.

[2] Hardouin, I. 671 ff., from Hilary, *De Synodis*, c. 34.

[3] In Hahn, p. 107 f.

Councils at Milan, 345, 347.

Photinians.

They also found themselves under the necessity of condemning a new heresy, that of Photinus[1]. He was a fellow-countryman and disciple of Marcellus, and the Antiochene sentence of condemnation seems to attribute to him little or nothing beyond the views of his master. As however the Western council at Milan also condemned Photinus while it protected Marcellus, it seems probable that he maintained not merely that the Son had no personal existence from eternity, but that Christ was simply a man, destined by God to a unique work, and so wrought upon by His inworking as to attain divine excellence[2].

Athanasius returns, October, 346.

The emperor Constantius had hitherto been unfriendly to Athanasius and his party. At last, hard pressed by the Persians and anxious at all costs to restore peace in his dominions, he permitted the great bishop to return to Alexandria, where meanwhile the intruder Gregory had died. He was received with a tumult of joy by his faithful people. The Orientals were dissatisfied at the restoration of Athanasius without the decree of a council, but otherwise the difference between the opposing parties seems at this time to have been reduced to two points—the refusal of the Western bishops to condemn Marcellus, and the continued rejection by the Easterns of the word Homoousios. Those opinions of Arius which had been condemned at Nicæa were almost everywhere rejected.

---

[1] Of Photinus's writings not even fragments are preserved. His opinions are gathered from Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 71, and from the condemnations of councils.

[2] A. Harnack, *Dogmen-Gesch.* II. 242, n. 1. But see Zahn, *Marcell*, p. 192.

Death of Constans, 350.

First Sirmian Formula, 351.

Fall of Magnentius, 353.

Synods of Arles, 353, *Milan,* 355.

Athanasius's Third Exile, Feb. 356.

But the death of Constans brought about a great change in the politics of the time. Constantius had paid a certain deference to his brother, who favoured Athanasius; now he asserted his independence, and perhaps wished to repay the humiliation which he thought he had suffered at the hands of the Western bishops. A synod which met at Sirmium in 351 put forth a Confession of Faith[1] identical with the fourth of Antioch, and deposed Photinus, who had up to this time remained in possession of the see of Sirmium. To the Confession was appended a long series of anathemas, in the eighteenth of which the Son is expressly declared to be subordinate to the Father (ὑποτεταγμένος). This was not generally accepted in the West, though so high an authority as Hilary[2] of Poictiers thought it compatible with orthodoxy. When, shortly afterwards, Constantius became, by his victory over the usurper Magnentius, the sole ruler of the empire, he acted with more vigour and decision in the affairs of the Church. From synods assembled at Arles[3] and Milan[4] he succeeded in extorting the condemnation of Athanasius as a rebel, leaving the theological question for the present out of sight. The orthodox were not compelled to accept any new formula of belief, but the more sharp-sighted among them could not fail to be aware that in the condemnation of Athanasius lurked more than a personal question. The few bishops who refused to concur—Paulinus of Treves, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Dionysius of Milan—were driven into exile, and to these were soon added Liberius of Rome, Hilary of Poictiers, and the aged Hosius of Cordova. Early in the year 356 his sentence of deposition was formally communicated to Athanasius, who at once withdrew into the wilderness and was lost to sight. He was beyond the emperor's power, for no one would earn the price put upon his head by betraying him to his enemies. George of Cappadocia was brought into Alexandria by force of arms as his successor. The unity of the Church seemed to be restored; the emperor seemed to be supreme over it; the party opposed to Athanasius seemed to be completely victorious.

---

[1] In Athanasius, *De Synodis,* c. 27; Socrates, II. 30; Hahn, p. 115; Hardouin, I. 701.

[2] *De Synodis,* c. 37ff.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. 39. 2; Hilar. Pictav. *Lib. ad Constant.*

[4] Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* Socrates, II. 36; Sozomen, IV. 9; Hardouin, I. 697.

Aëtius, Eunomius,

Anomoeans.

Homoiousians.

But in fact the political victory of the Eastern bishops brought about their ruin. No sooner was the pressure of adversity removed than the anti-Nicene party flew asunder. They had only been united by their hostility to Athanasius and the Homoousion. The real Arianism, the Arianism which had been condemned at Nicæa, started once more into full view. Aëtius[1] and Eunomius[2], keen and ruthless dialecticians, carried it to its logical issue and declined all compromise with orthodoxy. These "Anomœans" declared that the Son was different in essence from the Father, unlike (ἀνόμοιος) in essence and in all respects. However superior the Son might be to the other parts of creation, He was still created. The great majority of the Oriental theologians did not share these views. They maintained that the Son was like (ὅμοιος) the Father in essence and in all respects, and that His Eternal Generation was by no means an act of creation[3]. But they declined—alarmed, perhaps, by the theories of Marcellus—to admit that the Father and the Son are of one and the same essence. The leaders of this Homoiousian party were George of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebaste, Eusebius of Emesa, and Basil of Ancyra, and their views made some impression even upon eager advocates of the Nicene doctrines, like Hilary of Poictiers[4], who were in exile among them.

The emperor was still eager for unity at any price, and the court-party among the bishops—especially the pliant Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa, with Acacius of Cæsarea and Eudoxius of Antioch—were anxious to devise a formula which should unite Homœans and Anomœans. By a third Sirmian council, at which the emperor was present, the words Homoousios and Homoiousios were absolutely forbidden, as not contained in Scripture, and as attempting to define matters above the reach of man's understanding[1]. The subordination of the Son was again affirmed. This formula was mainly the work of Western bishops, hitherto the great champions of orthodoxy, but it was highly displeasing in the East. Constantius seems in some way to have been won over to the views of the more moderate party, and a fourth Sirmian council put forth as their Faith that which had been set forth at the Dedication-Council of Antioch in the year 341, together with the condemnation of Paul of Samosata and Photinus which had been agreed upon at Sirmium ten years later[2].

---

[1] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 76, c. 10, p. 924 ff.; Gregory Nyssen, *c. Eunomium*, I. 6; J. A. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, IX. 227 ff. (ed. Harless).

[2] The treatises of Basil and Gregory Nyssen against Eunomius; Socrates, IV. 7; Sozomen, VI. 8, 26; Philostorgius III. 20; IV. 8, 9; V. 3; VI. 5, 4; Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* IX. 207 ff. C. R. W. Klose, *Geschichte und Lehre des Eunomius* (Kiel, 1833).

[3] Athanasius himself admitted (*De Synodis*, c. 41) that the expression ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, taken in connexion with the distinction drawn between begetting and creating, was capable of an orthodox interpretation.

[4] As is evident from his *De Synodis*.

Second Sirmian Formula, 357.

Third Sirmian Formula, 358.

In the year 358 the exiled Liberius bought his return to Rome by subscribing (to use his own words) "the true Catholic Faith received at Sirmium by many brethren and fellow-bishops," and repudiating Athanasius[3]. What was the formula which he subscribed, whether the First or the Second of Sirmium, has been matter of vehement dispute. It is however hardly possible to suppose that the indignation which Hilary[4] expresses against the weakness of the Roman bishop can have been called forth by his having accepted a formula which he himself thought compatible with orthodoxy. He must therefore have subscribed the Second. Hosius was also allowed to return home on accepting this formula, which he did under durance, but without repudiating Athanasius[5].

Fall of Liberius, 358.

The emperor however was still dissatisfied. He designed that a great synod under his own influence should devise a formula in which the various parties might agree.

---

[1] Socrates, II. 30, p. 128; Athanasius, *De Synodis*, c. 28; the original Latin in Hilary, *De Synodis*, c. 11. Hahn, p. 119.

[2] Sozomen, *H. E.* IV. 15, p. 150.

[3] Of the fall of Liberius there is the most express and undoubted testimony in Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.* 41; *Apol. c. Arian.* 89; Hilary, *c. Constantium*, 11; Sozomen IV. 15; Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* 97.

[4] Fragment VI., where Liberius's own letter is given with Hilary's comments. The genuineness of this letter is admitted by almost all the most distinguished historians and critics from Baronius to Dr Döllinger and Cardinal Newman.

[5] Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.* 44. See T. D. C. Morse in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 171 ff.

Council of Rimini, 359.

Council at Nice, 359.

Formula of Rimini.

What actually came to pass however was not one synod but two. In May, 359, four hundred Western bishops assembled at Rimini[1], who were required by the emperor to debate only matters of doctrine, and forbidden to separate until they should have arrived at a conclusion. Ursacius and Valens however, who acted as the emperor's ministers in ecclesiastical affairs, were at first altogether unable to carry out his wish that the formula lately settled at Sirmium should be accepted. The great majority of the assembly held firmly to the faith of Nicæa, condemned Arianism and deposed its friends—including Ursacius and Valens—from their sees. But the delegates who carried the decrees of the synod to the emperor, without being admitted to an audience, were carried by Ursacius and his friends to Nice[2] in Thrace, where a small council was held, which was compelled or persuaded to accept a formula—known as that of Nice—in all its main points identical with that to which the Western bishops had assented at Sirmium two years before. This declared the Son "like the Father Who begat Him according to the Scriptures, Whose begetting no man knows but the Father Who begat Him." Bearing this confession, and still carrying with them the delegates, Ursacius and Valens returned to Rimini, where by mingled threats and persuasions they caused the weary and terrified bishops to accept it.

Synod of Seleucia, 359.

Meantime, an Oriental synod had assembled at Seleucia[3]. The Homoiousians, with whom some of the Nicene party had made common cause, were in the majority, among them being the much-respected Hilary of Poictiers, then in exile in the East; but the minority of decided Arians, under the leadership of Acacius and Eudoxius, was still considerable. Passion ran high in the council, and the majority ended by passing sentence of deposition on their chief opponents. But the emperor had still to be reckoned with, and he determined, while shewing his repugnance to the extreme Arians by banishing Aetius, to force the formula of Nice upon the East as well as the West. He gained his end, and in a council at Constantinople[1] in the following year this confession[2] was again put forth, with the addition, that the word *οὐσία*, which was not commonly intelligible and which had given great offence, should no longer be used; and that the word *ὑπόστασις* should not be applied to the Persons of the Holy Trinity. The emperor seemed for the moment to have brought to pass the unity for which he was so anxious; but a scarcely disguised Arianism was in fact established in the Church, and even Eunomius obtained a bishopric. In Gaul, where Julian, who was indifferent to Christian dogma, had already been proclaimed Augustus, the orthodox bishops made their voices heard. In November, 361, Constantius died on his march against his cousin.

---

[1] Socrates, ii. 37; Sozomen, iv. 17, 18, 19; Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 18 ff.; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 41 ff. Some fragments of the *Acta* are preserved in Jerome's *Dial. adv. Luciferum.* Hardouin, *Conc.* i. 711 ff.

[2] Socrates, ii. 37, p. 144; Sozomen, iv. 19, p. 159; in Hahn, p. 126; some portions of the *Acta* are preserved in the *Fragmenta* of Hilary of Poictiers; Hardouin i. 719. Socrates (u.s.) declares that Nice (Νίκη) was expressly chosen as the seat of the council in order that its canons might be confused with those of Nicæa (Νίκαια).

[3] Socrates, ii. 39, 40; Socrates, iv. 23, 24; Sulpicius Severus, ii. 42; Hilary, *c. Constantium*; Basil, *Epist.* 74; Hardouin i. 721.

Council at Constantinople, 360.

Council of Paris, 360 ?

Julian, 361—363.

The emperor Julian was an implacable enemy of Christianity, yet his short reign was in fact a blessing in disguise. For nearly two years the Church, however injured in its property and its privileges, was entirely free from imperial interference in matters of doctrine. The gain in this far outweighed the loss, for during this period the leaders in the Church, no longer harassed by imperial politics, came to understand each other better, and even to discern points of agreement where all had once seemed hostile.

Approximation of parties.

For some time past the Homoiousians seem to have been coming to the conviction that, in spite of their repugnance to the Homoousion, their views were in fact much nearer to those of the Nicene party than to those of such Arians as Aetius and Eunomius[3]. Athanasius, again

---

[1] Socrates, II. 41; Nicephorus IX. 44; Athanasius, *De Synodis*, c. 30.

[2] In Hahn, p. 129. It is worthy of note that Ulphilas the Goth was one of those who subscribed to this formula.

[3] By this time the leading thinkers had seen the latent ambiguity in the word *ὁμοούσιος*. If the word *οὐσία* means the essence of an *individual*—that which makes him what he is—then to apply the word *ὁμοούσιος* to the Son would be to merge His Personality in that of the Father, to make Father and Son one individual. In this sense no doubt the term had been rejected at Antioch. But St Basil pointed out (*Epist.* 42) that *οὐσία* denotes that which is common to all the individuals of a species, and so *ὁμοούσιος* may be used to describe the identity of nature

Synod of Alexandria, 362.

returned from banishment, earnestly sought to unite all the parties which were not absolutely Arian. He did not indeed waver in his allegiance to the Nicene Faith, but he induced a synod which met at Alexandria[1] to pardon the fall of those who had been unawares seduced into Arianism, and to facilitate their admission to communion with the orthodox Church. And, what was even more important, the opposing parties, when they were face to face, came to understand the ambiguity which lurks in such words as "essence[2]" and "substance[3]." The Nicene party admitted that their opponents, when they spoke of three "Substances," by no means intended to deny the unity of the Godhead; their opponents allowed that those who maintained the "one essence" did not intend to deny the Trinity of Persons[4]. It would seem that the synod deprecated the use of the ambiguous terms altogether[5].

The settlement of the dispute was however rendered difficult by two circumstances.

Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

In the first place, the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit[6], which had attracted little attention during the first thirty years of the Arian divisions, now came into prominence. At Nicæa the simplest expression of belief in the Holy Ghost had been held sufficient. The Lucianist Confession[7] of 341 added to this the words "which is given for the comforting and sanctifying and perfecting of them that believe." The synod of Sirmium of 351 indicates that diversity of opinion on this subject had already begun, when it anathematizes[8] those who spoke of the Holy Spirit as "unbegotten." When the question was once mooted, Athanasius, as might have been expected, made a firm stand against error. It was clear to him that it was of vital importance to recognize the Holy Ghost as God. Either the Holy Ghost is God, or He is a

---

in the Father and the Son without impairing the distinction of their Persons. That this was the sense in which *ὁμοούσιος* was adopted by the Church is clear from the Creed of Chalcedon, which calls the Son *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.*

[1] Socrates, III. 7; Sozomen, v. 12; Rufinus, *H. E.* I. 28; *Epistola Synodalis* in Hardouin, I. 729.

[2] *Οὐσία.*

[3] *Ὑπόστασις.*

[4] See the Synodal Letter, Hardouin, I. 733.

[5] Socrates, III. 8, p. 179.

[6] On this controversy, see H. B. Swete, in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* III. 120 ff.

[7] Hahn, p. 186. See above, p. 264.

[8] *Anathem.* 20, in Hahn, p. 118.

creature; and a creature He can not be[1]. He can not be, as was held by some, merely one of the ministering spirits sent forth to do service for them that shall inherit salvation[2]. As such views as these were in the air, Athanasius required the members of the Alexandrian council not only to accept the Creed of Nicæa but to repudiate the doctrine that the Holy Spirit was a creature. This was however vehemently opposed by a party to whom Epiphanius[3] gives the name Pneumatomachi, but who were more commonly known as Macedonians from their following the leadership of Macedonius[4]. This Macedonius had more than once appeared as the Arian candidate for the episcopal throne of Constantinople, and was in fact chosen by his party and placed in possession of his church by the authority of Constantius, amid scenes of violence and blood[5]. It was by the favour of Constantius that he was supported, and when this was withdrawn he fell[6]. In his retirement he is said to have put forth the view with which his name is connected, that the Spirit is not Very God, and is therefore a creature and minister of God. Many of those who shrank from the Arian depreciation of the Son of God were yet not disposed to admit that the Holy Spirit also is of one essence with the Father. From this arose divided counsels. In the end those who held the lower view of the Holy Spirit came to be so completely identified with the Semiarians that this term was used as synonymous with Pneumatomachi[7].

341.

360.

The union of all the enemies of Arianism was also much hindered by the state of affairs in the important metropolis Antioch. Its bishop Eustathius, an active and much-respected member of the Nicene party, had been deposed in the year 330. He had been followed by men of the middle-party which prevailed in the East, until in 347 a decided Arian, Eudoxius, in an irregular manner, became bishop. On his translation to Constantinople

Antioch. Eustathius deposed, 330.

Eudoxius Bishop, 347.

---

[1] Athanasius, *ad Serapion.* I. 23, 24.

[2] Heb. I. 14.

[3] *Hæres.* 74.

[4] They were also called Marathonians, from Marathonius, who had served as deacon under Macedonius, and was thought to have been the real author of the opinions which bear the latter's name. See Socrates II. 45, p. 162.

[5] Socrates II. 6, 16; Sozomen III. 7, 9.

[6] Socrates II. 38, 42; Sozomen IV. 24.

[7] *Conc. Constantinop.* (381) c. 1.

Meletius Bishop, 361.

Meletius, previously bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, was chosen by the dominant party to succeed him[1]. He, though at the time of his election thought to incline to Arianism, taught as bishop a doctrine too nearly allied to the Nicene Faith to be pleasing to the Arians. He was consequently dispossessed by the emperor and the Arian Euzoïus set up in his place[2]; but a considerable portion of the Antiochene church continued to regard Meletius as their lawful bishop. There were thus in Antioch at the time of the Alexandrian council three separate communions; the Eustathians, whose leader and guide was then a presbyter called Paulinus; the Meletians; and the Euzoïans. The policy of Athanasius and other leaders of the council was to permit, so far as possible, those in actual possession of ecclesiastical offices to retain them, provided that they received the Faith of Nicæa. With regard to Antioch, the council naturally felt itself bound to support the Eustathians, who in troublous times had adhered to the orthodox belief. As however the Eustathians differed in fact but little from the Meletians, and had no bishop of their own in Antioch[3], there was good ground for hope that they would accept Meletius on his return as their bishop, and that in this way the Eustathians and Meletians would be united. But the hot-headed Lucifer of Cagliari, with more zeal than discretion, hurried to Antioch, where he arrived before the delegates from the council, and consecrated Paulinus as bishop of that city[4]. There was thus introduced a discord which extended far beyond the walls of Antioch, since the Orientals generally did not recognize Paulinus, but Meletius, as lawful bishop of Antioch, while Athanasius and the Western bishops could not repudiate Paulinus, as being the representative of the most steadfast confessors of the Nicene Faith. Lucifer, an eager and honest fanatic, was altogether opposed to the gentler methods which were in favour at Alexandria, from which it would occasionally result, that men who had suffered and been banished for

Euzoïus Bishop, 361.

Lucifer of Cagliari.

---

[1] Socrates II. 44.

[2] Socr. u. s.

[3] It is just possible that Eustathius was still living (Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* IX. 534 note: 2nd ed.), but he was at any rate at a distance and had resigned his see.

[4] Socrates III. 6.

their steadfast adherence to the orthodox faith might, on their return home, find their places occupied by those whose greater pliancy had permitted them to adopt the views of the dominant power for the time being. He contended that no one who had committed himself by adhesion to an erroneous creed under the iron rule of Constantius should be admitted to the communion of the Church without loss of the office which he held, and that all who had been banished for conscience sake should re-enter on all their old privileges. As Lucifer's principle would have deposed, for instance, all the bishops who had subscribed the conclusions of Rimini, it could of course not be accepted; and he, as many other good men have done who cannot admit compromise, gradually drifted away from the Catholic Church, in which he thought that a base worldliness prevailed over right and justice. The party of Luciferians was however neither numerous nor of long continuance.

Synod at Antioch, 363.

In the following year an important synod was held at Antioch, at which the Nicene Faith was accepted and a document sent to the emperor—Julian's successor Jovian—in which it was explained that "essence" in the Nicene Faith was not used in the philosophic sense, but was intended to repudiate the error of those who maintained that the Son was created out of nothing[1]. The hostility of Valens, Jovian's successor, who was a decided Arian, tended to consolidate the union of parties, and the time was now at hand when men of philosophic training, belonging to a generation which had not known the acrimony of the early struggles, made their influence felt. The most important of these were the great Cappadocians, Basil and the two Gregories, of Nyssa and of Nazianzus.

Valentinian I. 364—375.
Valens, 364—378.

On the death of Jovian, Valentinian was chosen emperor by the troops, and at once adopted as colleague his brother Valens, to whom he gave the charge of the East. Valentinian favoured the Nicene views which were dominant in the West. Here there was little Arianism, though a few Arian bishops appointed by Constantius—as Auxentius at Milan—still held their sees. A Roman synod under Damasus declared its adhesion to the Nicene faith, deposed Auxentius, and excommunicated him and his fol-

Roman Synod, 369 ?

---

[1] Socrates III. 25; Sozomen VI. 4; Hardouin I. 741.

Illyrian Council, 374?

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, 374—397.

lowers[1]; and an Illyrian council a few years later applied the word Homoousios to each of the Persons of the Holy Trinity[2]. The successor of Auxentius at Milan was the great Ambrose, who was not only himself a bulwark of orthodoxy, but was able to control in ecclesiastical matters the young emperor Gratian.

Death of Athanasius, 373.

370.

In the East however Valens, who had been baptized by the Arian bishop Eudoxius of Constantinople and was still under his influence, wished to walk in the steps of Constantius. Athanasius was too powerful a person in Alexandria to be removed from his see, but on his death his orthodox successor Peter was thrust out by main force, and an Arian named Lucius enthroned in his place. The Egyptian monks, who had been devoted to Athanasius, suffered persecution. But the further East, where Valens generally resided with the view of watching the Persian frontier, suffered most from his ill-tempered violence. The most horrible act attributed to him was the death of a large number of delegates of the orthodox party who had come to lay before him the wrong and injustice which they had to endure. They were put on board a ship, which took fire when out at sea—set on fire, it was believed, in accordance with instructions from high quarters—and all the delegates perished, the crew alone making their escape[3].

Synod at Lampsacus, 365.

Throughout this disastrous period however the reconciliation of the Homoiousian with the Nicene party continued to make progress. The former did indeed, in a council held at Lampsacus[4], maintain the views expressed in the Dedication-Council at Antioch more than twenty years before; but as they condemned the Eudoxians they had to suffer at the hands of the emperor the same persecution as the Nicene party. In their distress they turned to the Western emperor and the Roman bishop, sending three bishops as a deputation to Valentinian and Liberius, with instructions to accept the Homoousion and to seek communion with Rome. Valentinian being in Gaul, Liberius alone received them on their arrival in Rome. To him the deputies explained, that when they spoke of

---

[1] Sozomen VI. 23; Theodoret II. 22; Hardouin I. 771.

[2] *Epistola Synodica* in Hardouin I. 793.

[3] Socrates IV. 16; Sozomen VI. 14; Theodoret IV. 24.

[4] Socrates IV. 4; Sozomen VI. 7.

Deputation to Liberius, 366.

the Son as "like the Father in all things" they meant precisely what was intended to be expressed by Homoousion; and they handed him a document as the confession of their faith in which, after anathematizing Arius and several other heretics, they declared their hearty assent to the Nicene Creed. Liberius now admitted them to communion, and dismissed them with letters to the bishops who had sent them[1]. Difficulties however were not at an end, for one of the delegates, Eustathius of Sebaste, fell back into Arianism and drew others after him. But it was now evident that the real convictions of the great majority of Church teachers inclined to the doctrines of which Athanasius had been the great exponent and defender. The negotiations with Rome for the restoration of peace to the Church, though supported by Basil and—so long as he lived—by Athanasius, proceeded for some time but slowly in consequence of the distrust which the Western leaders felt towards the theologians of the East. On the death of Valens, however, in the year 378, a great change came over the political circumstances of the empire. Gratian, the surviving emperor, who had always been favourable to Athanasian teaching, permitted the bishops who had been banished by Valens to return to their sees. In the autumn of the same year an important council of one hundred and forty-six Eastern bishops was held at Antioch[2], at which the letter of Damasus and the Roman synod of the year 369[3], in favour of the Nicene Faith, was approved and accepted. In the following year Gratian chose as his colleague in the empire the noble Spaniard Theodosius, who immediately after his baptism issued an edict[4] in favour of the orthodox faith in the Holy Trinity, and strongly condemnatory of heresy. In the year 381 met the Council of Constantinople, which, though only attended by one hundred and fifty bishops, and those entirely from the Eastern Empire, came to be regarded, from its epoch-making character, as œcumenical[5].

Death of Valens, Aug. 378.

Council of Antioch, 378.

Theodosius Emperor, 379.

Second Œcumenical Council, 381, 382.

---

[1] Socrates IV. 12; Sozomen VI. 11; Hardouin I. 743.

[2] See Gregory Nyssen, *Vita Macrinæ*, p. 187, and *Oratio de iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma*. The Synodical Epistle which appears as the 69th of St Basil's letters was probably sent forth by this Synod.

[3] Sozomen VI. 23.

[4] *Codex Theodos.* XVI. i. 2; Socrates VII. 4; Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 16.

[5] It calls itself ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος in its Synodical Epistle; see

"Constantinopolitan" Creed

produced at Chalcedon, 451.

This famous assembly confirmed the Creed agreed upon at Nicæa, and anathematized those who rejected or impugned it[1]. It has frequently been stated that at this council the Creed of Nicæa was brought, by certain alterations, omissions and additions, into the form in which it is now recited in our churches. This is however an error. The Creed which we know as "Nicene" is found in a tract of Epiphanius[2] which can scarcely be dated later than the year 374, and does not appear there as anything new. It is in fact the Creed of Jerusalem with certain Nicene additions[3]. No early historian mentions any Creed having been put forth by this council as its own, but all mention its adhesion to the Nicene; while the Fathers of Constantinople themselves assert most emphatically that whatever persecutions or afflictions they had endured they had borne for the sake of the evangelic faith ratified at Nicæa in Bithynia by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers[4]. No words could more plainly express the fact that they supposed themselves to have ratified the very Creed adopted at Nicæa, and not any subsequent modification of it. If they put forth the "Constantinopolitan" Creed, they can only have done so in the belief that it was the Nicene; and it is hardly credible that a hundred and fifty bishops from all parts of the East, in an age when dogmatic formulas were keenly scrutinized, can have been so mistaken. What is certain is that the Creed in question was produced at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and was ultimately received by the whole Church.

But Theodosius was still anxious about the unity of the Church, which had even now been but imperfectly

---

Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 9, p. 206. No external authority seems to call it Œcumenical before the middle of the fifth century in the East. The West was still later in acknowledging it.

[1] Socrates v. 8; Sozomen vii. 7—9; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 8 f.; Hardouin i. 807 ff.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 363 ff.

[2] *Ancoratus*, c. 118, p. 122 f. Epiphanius appears to regard it as the Creed of Nicæa, used at Jerusalem.

[3] On this point see F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 73 ff.; J. R. Lumby, *Creeds*, p. 69 ff.; C. A. Swainson, *Creeds*, p. 92 ff. The "Constantinopolitan" Creed may be conveniently compared with the real Nicene Creed and with the Creed of Jerusalem, in Hort, p. 140 ff.

[4] Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 9, p. 205. The so-called seventh canon of Constantinople, to which this Creed is appended, is almost certainly wrongly attributed to that council. See Hardouin's marginal note, i. 812.

Conference at Constantinople, 383.

attained. In the year 383 he caused a conference to be held at Constantinople[1], to which representatives of the various parties were summoned and presented written statements of their faith. Even Eunomius gave in his creed. The emperor, after reading the various professions, accepted that which declared the several Persons of the Holy Trinity Homoousian. Those who refused it he declared heretical, forbade to teach, to ordain bishops, or even to meet together for worship[2].

Justina and the Arians.

In the West the empress Justina, who ruled in the name of her young son Valentinian II., was a passionate supporter of the Arians. Under her influence complete freedom of worship was granted to those who accepted the formula of Rimini, and all who opposed the carrying out of this measure were threatened with severe punishment[3]. From all parts of the empire the discomfited Arians sought refuge at Milan, where she held her court. She would fain have given them possession of a church, but here she found herself powerless against the great Ambrose, whose influence in the city was greater than hers[4]. Justina however died in the year 388, and her son could scarcely refuse to Theodosius, who had given him the victory over the usurper Maximus, the support which he desired for the orthodox party. From this time Arianism declined throughout the empire and gradually died away. From the end of the fourth century it is only found, as a living force, among the nations which pressed in from the frontiers.

385, 386.

Justina dies, 388.

The Arian controversy, beginning with the great question of the nature of the Divine Son, His eternal Sonship, had in its course involved the question of the Personality and Coequality of the Holy Spirit, and led to a more exact definition of the Trinity in Unity. It came to be recognised that while the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet they are not three Gods, but one God. In Greek theology, mainly under the influence of Basil the Great and his school, the expression of the great mystery which obtained general currency was, "one Essence[5] in three Substances[6]" or personalities. The special characteristic of the Father is that He is unbegotten, of the Son that He is begotten, of the Holy Ghost that He proceeds[1] from the Father, or—to use the form now for many centuries current in the West—from the Father and the Son. There were however some who—taking the word "substance" to be equivalent to "essence"—preferred to express the distinction of being by the word "person[2]" rather than "substance." In the West, the language of theology on this point was elaborated mainly by St Augustin[3]. He, holding that in Latin there was no distinction between "essentia" and "substantia," expressed the threefold distinction in the one "substantia" by the words "Tres Personæ[4]." The so-called Athanasian Creed probably does not fall within the period treated in this book. It is however little more than a full and methodical expression of the views of St Augustin.

---

[1] Socrates v. 10; Sozomen vii. 12.

[2] *Codex Theod.* Tit. *De Hæreticis*, leges 11 and 12.

[3] *Codex Theod.* xiii. i. 3.

[4] Ambrose, *Epistt.* 20, 21, and the *Sermo de Basilicis Tradendis*; Socrates v. 11; Sozomen vii. 13; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 13.

[5] Οὐσία.

[6] Ὑποστάσεις.

With regard to the "Procession" of the Holy Spirit, the Orientals, anxious to avoid any appearance of recognizing more than one source or origin of being, always clung to the expression of the "Constantinopolitan" Creed, which represents the Spirit as proceeding from the Father. In the West, the great influence of Hilary of Poictiers, Ambrose and Augustin gave weight to the proposition that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and this received the authority of the first council at Toledo[5]. In the year 589, the third council[6] at the same place set forth the "Constantinopolitan" Creed itself with the clause relating to the Holy Spirit in the form "ex Patre et Filio procedentem," and in this form it has for many centuries been recited in the Western Church.

First Council of Toledo, 447 ?
Third, 589.

---

[1] The Father is ἀγέννητος, the Son γεννητός, the Holy Ghost ἐκπορευτός.

[2] Πρόσωπον.

[3] In the treatise *De Trinitate*.

[4] Πρόσωπον and *Persona* however are not fully equivalent. The former always retained something of its original meaning—countenance. The latter, a Roman law term, more decidedly expressed individual existence.

[5] Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 993; Hahn, *Bibliothek*, p. 130. This council probably took place as late as the time of Leo I.; see H. B. Swete in *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* III. 129 ff.

[6] Hardouin III. 471.

III. *The Incarnate Son.*

Arianism leads to heresies on the Incarnation.

The Arian controversy was critical and indeed vital for the Church inasmuch as it concerned the very essence of Christianity. The whole scheme of redemption failed if the Son was not indeed from all eternity "Very God from Very God." But it was equally true, to look at the matter from the other side, that Christ could not be the true representative of humanity unless He were "perfect Man of the substance of His mother born in the world, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," so that "God and Man is one Christ." The controversies then on the nature of the Incarnation which followed that on the Consubstantiality of the Eternal Son were scarcely less important. So the opinions of Apollinaris, who denied to the Incarnate Son a "reasonable soul;" of Nestorius, who regarded the body of the Lord simply as an instrument moved by the indwelling deity; of the Monophysites, who either considered the Human Nature to be absorbed by the Divine, or the two Natures to be so mingled and confused as to form but one; all these had to be met and overcome in order to preserve the faith of the Church.

Apollinaris, Nestorius, Monophysites.

Apollinarianism. *Apollinaris teaches,* c. 362.

1. Apollinaris of Laodicea[1], a keen opponent of Arianism, was led in the course of his dialectic to consider the union of God and Man in one Person. A complete man he held to consist of three parts, a material body, an "irrational soul" or vital principle animating the body, and a spirit, intellect or rational soul[2], which includes not only intelligence but will. Now the third and highest of these could not, he believed, coexist in the same individual with the divinity; he taught therefore that in the Incarnation, instead of the spirit, intellect or rational soul, the Divine Logos or Word entered into a man. In short, the Incarnation was simply the entering of the Word into the living body of a man, which without it would have been simply animal. What in an ordinary man is the human reason and will, was in the Saviour the Divine Logos.

---

[1] See p. 229. Greek authors write his name 'Απολινάριος. Socrates II. 46; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 3.

[2] *Σῶμα, ψυχὴ ἄλογος*, and *πνεῦμα, νοῦς*, or *ψυχὴ λογική*.

This doctrine soon attracted great attention. It opened a new line of thought and suggested new difficulties to those who wished to define exactly to themselves the great mystery of the union of the Human and the Divine in one person. Apollinaris's literary talent soon brought him many adherents. There can be little doubt that it was with reference to him, though his name is not mentioned, that the Alexandrian Council of the year 362 insisted that the body of the Saviour was not an irrational one[1].

Council of Alexandria, 362.

The importance attached to the doctrine of Apollinaris is evident from the numerous refutations bestowed upon it by some of the greatest teachers of the time, which form now our principal authorities for the history of the Apollinarian heresy. Athanasius[2], Gregory of Nazianzus[3], Gregory of Nyssa[4], and Theodore of Mopsuestia[5], wrote against it. These theologians pointed out how perilous were the opinions of Apollinaris to the Christian faith, and controverted the expositions of Scripture by which he sought to defend them. Athanasius in particular insists upon the folly and impiety of attempting to define so ineffable a mystery as the union of God and man in one person. Even in an ordinary man the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is not a thing explicable in the forms of human understanding. Theodore, as able in dogma as in exegesis, asserted vigorously the presence in Christ of a true rational soul. Without a soul capable of human suffering, how could He feel the agony in Gethsemane? Unless He had a human mind, how could He grow in wisdom? Growth of mind and mental agony imply the presence of human qualities, not merely of an animal body. There must therefore have been two complete natures, the divine and human, in the Lord. In the West also opposition sprang up to the new conception of the indwelling of the Deity in Christ. Hilary of Poictiers opposed Apollinaris in the spirit of Athanasius. Augustin also contended for the presence of a true human soul—not merely a vital principle—in the Lord; there were two natures in His one Person.

---

[1] *Σῶμα...οὐκ ἀνόητον εἶχεν ὁ Σωτήρ.* Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 736.

[2] *De Incarnatione c. Apolinarium.* Athanasius does not name him, though he combats his opinions.

[3] *Epistt. ad Nectarium* and *ad Chelidonium* (Orat. 51, 52).

[4] *Antirrheticus c. Apolin.*

[5] Fragments of Theodore's work are preserved in the records of the Council of Constantinople (553) which condemned him (Hardouin III. 14 ff.).

But while Apollinaris's sharp definitions were generally rejected, there were probably many orthodox believers who unconsciously read Apollinarian treatises under the venerable names of Justin Martyr, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Julius of Rome, and even Athanasius himself[1]. Some of the adherents of the new sect were apparently not very scrupulous as to the means whereby they gave currency to their opinions.

Apollinaris leaves the Church, 375, dies 390.

In the year 375 Apollinaris left the Church and became the leader of a sect, which was one of those anathematized by the First Council of Constantinople[2]. He died fifteen years later, but his followers maintained themselves under various appellations—such as Dimœrites[3], from their recognizing in Christ only two of the three component parts of human nature—in spite of persecution by the state, until they were either reconciled to the Catholic Church or absorbed into the Monophysites.

NESTORIANISM. *Continued speculation on the Incarnation.*

2. The movement begun by Apollinaris soon caused further agitation. When speculation once seized on the great mystery of the union of God and Man in one Person, it was difficult for the fallible human intellect to avoid error, even when sincerely aiming at truth. The theologians of the Antiochene School took occasion from the controversy with Apollinaris to insist more emphatically on the reality and perfection both of the Divine and the Human Nature in Christ. The most distinguished teachers among them, Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, insisted on the perfect Manhood of Christ in their writings, which were held in the highest esteem in the Eastern churches. Thus Theodore[4] taught that "Our

Theodore of Mopsuestia.

---

[1] The greater part of the *ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως* attributed to Justin, the treatise *ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις* attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, the supposed letter of Julius of Rome to Dionysius, with the treatise under the same author's name *περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἑνότητος*, and the short book *De Incarnatione Dei Verbi* which bears the name of Athanasius, are thought to be the work of Apollinaris or his disciples. See Caspari, *Alte u. Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, p. 65 ff. (Christiania, 1879); Dräseke in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VI. 1 ff.; 503 ff.; Titus Bostrensis, ed. Lagarde.

[2] Canon 1.

[3] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 77.

[4] His Confession is given in Mansi IV. 1347 ff.; Hardouin I. 1515 ff.; Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 229 ff.; the portion quoted

Lord God the Word took upon Him perfect Man of the seed of Abraham and David...of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. Which Man, like us in nature, fashioned by the power of the Holy Spirit in the Virgin's womb, born of a woman, born under the law, He in an ineffable manner connected with Himself." After the Ascension "He receives the adoration of all creation, inasmuch as the connexion which He has with the Divine Nature is an indissoluble one." These words, "connected with Himself," "connexion[1]," which were thought insufficient to express the union[2] of the two Natures, were destined to bear a prominent part in controversy. The Alexandrians on the other hand inclined to exalt the Godhead in our Lord, even at the risk of diminishing the perfection of his Manhood. They were accustomed, in fact, to speak of Christ as in all respects God, even during His humiliation, His "emptying of Himself," on earth. Hence it is not very surprising that a Gallican monk in Africa, Leporius, who had taught, not that Very God was born Man, but that the Perfect Man was born together with God, was admonished to confess that the eternal Son of God, born before the ages from the Father, in these last days was of the Holy Spirit and Mary ever-virgin made Man, born God[3]. This was in fact to say that the Blessed Virgin was the "Mother of God," and that epithet seems from about this time to have been commonly applied to her by those who favoured the Alexandrian theology, as a protest against those who spoke of the Divinity of Christ as merely "connected with" His Humanity.

Leporius, c. 426.

Nestorius Patriarch of Constantinople, 428.

Nestorius[4], who had been long a monk and afterwards a presbyter in Antioch, was in the year 428 raised to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. He was, if not an

---

above in Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 441 n.b. Latin translation in Marius Mercator, p. 41 ff. (ed. Baluze).

[1] συνῆψεν ἑαυτῷ, συνάφεια.

[2] ἕνωσιν.

[3] The *Epistola Episcop. Africæ ad Episc. Galliæ* and *Leporii Libellus Emendationis* are in Mansi IV. 517 ff.; Hardouin I. 1261 ff.; the *Libellus* in Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 226 ff. See Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II. 124.

[4] The original documents of Nestorianism in Mansi, *Conc.* IV. 567 ff. and V.; Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 1271 ff.; Marius Mercator, *De Hæresi Nestor.*; Liberatus, *Breviarium Causæ Nestor. et Eutych.*; Leontius Byzant., *De Sectis*, act. 5–10.—See also Jablonski, *De Nestorianismo*; Salig, *de Eutychianismo ante Eutychem*; C. W. F. Walch, *Ketzerhistorie* V.—VIII.; F. C. Baur, *Dreieinigkeit*, I. 693 ff.; J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi*, vol. II.

actual pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia, at any rate thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Antiochene School. He was a pious and zealous man, but in the government of his diocese he shewed, as might perhaps have been expected from his previous training, great stiffness and want of tact in dealing with men, together with too great readiness to persecute opponents. "Give me," he exclaimed to the emperor in his inaugural discourse, "a land purged of heretics, and I will give you heaven in return; help me to vanquish the heretics, and I will help you to vanquish the Persians[1]." With these views it is not surprising that he set himself to put down all heresies without discrimination. To doubt the consubstantiality of the Son and to celebrate Easter on the wrong day were in his eyes equally criminal. It was not long before he broached that opinion on the Incarnation which caused his fall.

Anastasius. "The Mother of God."

Anastasius, a presbyter whom Nestorius had brought with him from Antioch, declared from the pulpit—"Let no man call Mary the Mother of God[2], for she is a human being, and it is impossible for God to be born of a human being[3]." It was not perhaps altogether unnatural, while men were vehemently asserting the Son of God to have been begotten of the Father before all ages, that Anastasius and others like-minded should have been startled to hear it affirmed that Christ, as God, was born of His human mother. But Anastasius's protest seems to have been misunderstood; it was taken as if the preacher had represented Jesus to have been a mere man. The excitement increased when a bishop, Dorotheus, who chanced to be in the capital at the time, exclaimed in a sermon, "Cursed be the man who calls Mary the Mother of God," and Nestorius neither restrained nor censured him[4]. The question whether the title "Mother of God" could properly be applied to the Virgin Mary was from this time vehemently discussed by both clergy and laity. At last Nestorius himself intervened. In his teaching he rejected the disputed expression as giving rise to false conceptions; but he carefully guarded himself against the supposition that he denied the Divinity of the Lord, and proposed to give to the Virgin the title "Mother of Christ[1]." While he was preaching a sermon in which this view was expounded, he was interrupted by a layman exclaiming, "The Eternal Word Himself submitted to a second birth[2]." Thereupon arose a violent disturbance, as some of the audience took the part of Nestorius while others sided with the layman who had interrupted him. Nestorius resumed his discourse, praised the zeal of those who had taken his part, and spoke contemptuously of the interrupter. In this excited state of public feeling Proclus of Cyzicus, on the invitation of Nestorius himself, preached in Constantinople on a festival of the Virgin. In the presence of the patriarch he delivered a florid panegyric of the Virgin as Mother of the Incarnate Word, and declared that those who refused her that title denied by implication the Divinity of Christ. When he ceased, Nestorius himself spoke, and begged the assembly not to be dazzled by the brilliant oration which they had heard. He afterwards preached several sermons[3] on the same subject, in which he explained in what sense he could accept the expression "Mother of God," and even went so far as to say that Mary was to be honoured because she had received God within her. According to Cyril[4], Nestorius taught as follows. As the woman produces the body of her child, but God breathes into it a soul, and hence the woman cannot be called the mother of the soul, but only of the animal portion of the human being; so Mary bore the human being who was interpenetrated by the Word of God, and is consequently not the Mother of God. This was not satisfactory; the excitement grew stronger. A paper was displayed publicly in Constantinople in which Nestorius was compared to Paul of Samosata. A monk went so far as to attempt to hinder him from ascending the pulpit, thinking him a heretic and

---

[1] Socrates VII. 29.

[2] θεοτόκος.

[3] Socrates VII. 32; Evagrius I. 2.

[4] Cyril Alex. *Epist.* 6, p. 30; 9, p. 37.

Proclus preaches, 429.

---

[1] Extracts from Nestorius's Sermons in the *Acta* of the Council of Ephesus, Mansi IV. 1197 ff.; Latin translation in Marius Mercator, p. 53 ff. (ed. Baluze). In the first sermon occurs the phrase—"Non peperit creatura increabilem, sed peperit hominem deitatis instrumentum."

[2] Cyril Alex. *Adv. Nestorium*, I. 5, p. 20.

[3] Extracts from Nestorius's sermons are given in Mansi IV. 1197; and in Marius Mercator, p. 53 ff. (ed. Baluze). See Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 444.

[4] *Adv. Nestorium*, I. 2.

unworthy to teach the Christian people[1]. And the fire which smouldered in the city was soon stirred by an impulse from without.

Cyril's intervention.

Cyril of Alexandria was the most prominent representative of the Alexandrian School. Even before Nestorius was raised to the see of Constantinople, Cyril had expressed in a treatise on the Incarnation views not easily to be reconciled with his. When he controverted Nestorius, there is no doubt that he did so from sincere conviction. Yet it would seem that in the heat of controversy he attributed to his opponent opinions which he did not hold; he perhaps disliked him for his efforts to restore the fair fame of Chrysostom[2]; and the conflict was embittered by the rivalry between the ancient see of Alexandria and the new throne of Constantinople.

Cyril's proceedings.

When he heard of the proceedings in the capital he proceeded at first gently and cautiously, for Nestorius was in favour at the imperial court. Without naming him, he defended the use of the title "Mother of God" in one of his usual Easter Pastorals, and also in an admonitory letter to the monks of Egypt, among whom were found adherents of the Nestorian opinion. By this second letter, which was widely circulated, Nestorius felt himself aggrieved. Cyril sought to justify what he had said in a letter to Nestorius[3], and the latter[4] replied. After this Cyril used his utmost efforts to strengthen his party in Constantinople, and to weaken the influence of Nestorius at court. Moreover he brought the Western Church into the conflict by a letter to pope Celestinus[5] in which he charged Nestorius with denying the Divinity of Christ and asserting that it was but a man who died for us. In vain Nestorius explained[6] that he was ready to style the

---

[1] *Basilii Diac. et Monach. Supplicatio,* in Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 1338.

[2] Marcellinus Comes mentions (*Chronicon*, ann. 428) that immediately after Nestorius's accession to the See of Constantinople, John, "who had been driven into exile by the envy of bad bishops," began to be commemorated there on Sep. 26.

[3] Hardouin I. 1273.

[4] Hardouin I. 1277.

[5] In Mansi IV. 1012 ff.; together with the memorandum given to Posidonius, his legate. Nestorius (in Mansi V. 762) says that Cyril turned to Celestinus "ut ad simpliciorem quam qui posset vim dogmatum subtilius penetrare." That he did not understand the points at issue is likely enough.

[6] In *Epist.* III. *ad Celestinum;* Mansi IV. 1021, V. 725.

Virgin the Mother of God, if that title was understood to refer to the union of God and Man in one Christ; he was declared a heretic by a Roman synod[1].

Roman Synod, 430.

Celestinus charged Cyril to execute the decree of this synod, and if Nestorius refused to recant, to remove him from his see[2]—an unheard-of claim on the part of the bishop and a provincial synod of Rome. The support of Rome did however no doubt give confidence to Cyril, who went on his way undauntedly.

Cyril's Anathematisms.

He wrote to Nestorius a letter in the name of an Alexandrian synod, calling upon him to recant his errors, and subjoining a schedule of twelve propositions which were condemned[3]. The most important point in these was, that the natural union of the two natures in Christ was insisted upon, and the notion of a mere binding together in one person condemned[4].

Nestorius's Anathematisms.

Nestorius responded by a list of twelve condemned propositions of an opposite character[5]. These were received with favour in the churches of Syria and Asia Minor, where Cyril's opinions were distrusted as involving a mingling or coalescing of the two natures in Christ. Theodoret, the church-historian, at the suggestion of John bishop of Antioch, wrote a special treatise to refute them.

Council of Ephesus, 431.

To remedy the confusion and division which arose, Theodosius II. called a general Council at Ephesus, to which both Cyril and Nestorius were summoned. Cyril with his adherents arrived first at the place appointed, and—in spite of the solemn warning of Isidore of Pelusium[6]—refusing to wait the arrival of the Asiatic bishops, who had been detained on the way, and were still a few days' journey from the city, opened the proceedings.

Nestorius condemned.

Nestorius, himself a member of the synod, was summoned as to a tribunal which was to judge him, and, on his refusal to appear, was condemned and a sentence of deposition pronounced against him[7]. A few days after this the Asiatic bishops arrived, and found to their surprise that the great question was already decided. They met under

---

[1] Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 474.

[2] The letter of Celestinus in Hardouin I. 1321.

[3] These ἀναθεματισμοὶ are given in Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 1291 ff.; and in Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 449 f.

[4] ἕνωσις φυσική, not merely συνάφεια.

[5] These are given in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator, p. 142 ff. (ed. Baluze). In Hardouin I. 1297 ff.; Gieseler I. 451 f.

[6] *Epist.* I. 310.

[7] Sentence in Hardouin I. 1421; Mansi v. 783; Gieseler I. 455.

Second council condemns Cyril.

the presidency of John of Antioch, and passed sentence of deposition on Cyril and his principal ally, Memnon bishop of Ephesus[1]. Theodosius, offended by the arrogant behaviour of Cyril, at first confirmed all the three sentences. In the end however Cyril and Memnon were allowed to remain in possession of their sees, while Nestorius was compelled to withdraw to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Antioch whence he had come. The emperor however, thinking there was no essential difference between the parties, was anxious for a reconciliation, for which John of Antioch and Theodoret also exerted themselves[2]. Cyril did not formally withdraw his list of condemned propositions, but he agreed to accept a Confession of Faith probably drawn up by Theodoret at the request of John. In this the Lord is confessed as "of a reasonable soul and a body subsisting; begotten of the Father before the ages as touching His Godhead, and incarnate in these last days for us and for our salvation of Mary the Virgin as touching His Manhood; for there came to pass a union of two natures....According to this conception of union without confusion we confess the Holy Virgin to be Mother of God, because God the Word took flesh and became Man, and from His conception united with Himself the shrine [i.e. the human body] received from her[3]." This formula was by no means generally acceptable to Cyril's partizans. Cyril himself and the emperor seem to have been as anxious for peace as John and Theodoret; but a considerable number of the Eastern bishops who favoured Nestorius remained in opposition. Nestorius himself was about four years after his return to Antioch driven from his monastery and sentenced to pass the rest of his days at Petra[4]. It is probable however that this sentence was not carried out, as we find that he actually went to an oasis in Upper Egypt. There he was carried off by a wandering tribe, and, after being set at liberty, was dragged hither and thither by imperial officials until he died an unknown death[5].

Antiochene Confession, 433.

Nestorius banished, 435.

Died after 439.

---

[1] Hardouin I. 1450 ff.

[2] See the documents in Hardouin I. 1690 f.; Mansi v. 291 ff.; Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 137 f. Compare Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II. 211 f. and 245 f.

[3] Mansi v. 291; Hardouin I. 1691; Hahn 137.

[4] Imperial Decree in Hardouin I. 1670.

[5] Evagrius, *H. E.* I. 7.

We have seen that the difference between Nestorius and his opponents was not so fundamental but that men like Cyril on one side and John of Antioch on the other could discover terms of accommodation. But important matters did in fact underlie the controversy. It was not only the true Humanity of the Son which was in question but also the estimation in which the Virgin was to be held. When Nestorius asked, "If God has a Mother, why should we blame the heathen who speak of mothers of gods[1]?" he was an unskilful controversialist and gave needless offence. Still, it was from this time that the process began which in the end transferred to the Virgin Mary the old pagan title of "Queen of Heaven[2]." And in the Christological controversy there is a real and important difference between the thorough-going members of each party. The Nestorian extreme is the recognition of two natures in Christ so distinct as to be incapable of forming a unity. The Cyrillic extreme is the conception of God clothed in flesh abiding among men; God taking man's physical frame upon Him rather than man's nature; for a human reason and will are essential to the completeness of man's nature. Nestorius by no means intended to make two persons in Christ, Cyril by no means intended to deny that He was Very Man; but in this case, as in many others, consequences were drawn from propositions which their authors would certainly have disowned.

Fortunes of Nestorianism.

Nestorianism did not come to an end on the condemnation of its founder, though Cyril and his party gained more and more the upper hand and won over both the emperor and John of Antioch. Nestorius was succeeded in the see of Constantinople by Proclus, so that within a short time after the Council of Ephesus the three great Patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome were in the hands of opponents of Nestorianism. Great efforts were made to crush it, but some of the Eastern bishops refused to be put down.

Rabulas of Edessa

Rabulas bishop of Edessa, though himself a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia, joined Cyril in condemning the writings of Diodorus and Theodore, and expelled from the school of Edessa those teachers who were suspected of Nestorian leanings. But John of Antioch was opposed to blackening the memory of these distinguished Antiochenes, and the emperor forbade the post-mortem condemnation of men who had departed in communion with the Church. On the death of Rabulas in 435, Ibas, one of the teachers expelled from Edessa and an avowed disciple of Theodore, became his successor. Some other of the banished teachers betook themselves to Persia, where, especially in Nisibis, the opinions of Theodore were held in high respect. These Persian Nestorians maintained an active intercourse with Edessa so long as Ibas ruled there. At a later date, under the emperor Zeno, the school of Edessa, the last stronghold of the Nestorians within the empire, was destroyed. Its teachers for the most part took refuge under the more tolerant sway of Persia, and founded there a Church which was not in communion with the Church of the empire. This body produced several men of learning, and is not extinct even at this day.

---

[1] *Sermon* I., in Marius Mercator, p. 53. See Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 444.

[2] Jeremiah vii. 18. *Ave Regina cælorum* and *Regina Cœli lætare* are well-known hymns to the Virgin.

died 435.

Ibas succeeds.

Nestorians in Persia.

School of Edessa destroyed, 489.

EUTYCHIANISM[1].

Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria, 444.

3. The compromise entered into between Cyril and John of Antioch did not permanently settle the serious question which was mooted in the Nestorian dispute. It broke out afresh when Dioscorus, a hot-headed and violent man, succeeded Cyril as patriarch of Alexandria, and at once began to attack those whom he suspected of Nestorianism. Actual division however did not arise until Eutyches, the aged archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople and an old adherent of Cyril's, proclaimed his views. Into the Person of Christ, he said, there enter no doubt two distinct Natures, but after their union only one is to be recognised: the Humanity in Him is so completely

---

[1] The original authorities in Mansi V and VI, Hardouin II. 1—768; Gelasius (?), *Breviculus Hist. Eutychian.* in Mansi VII. 1060; Liberatus, *Breviarium;* Evagrius, *H. E.* I. 9 ff.; the *Acts of the Second Synod of Ephesus in Syriac,* published with English translation by Perry (London, 1887); a supposed account by Dioscorus of the Council of Chalcedon translated from the Coptic by Revillout (*Revue Égyptol.* 1880, p. 187, 1882, p. 21, 1883, p. 17) is declared by E. Amélineau (*Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte Chrét. aux IVme et Vme Siècles*) to be spurious (see Möller, *K.-G.* 440).—C. W. F. Walch, *Historie der Ketzereien,* VI. 1—640; J. A. Dorner, *Person Christi,* vol. II.; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* II. 126—III. 284. On Pope Leo's intervention, see Guerrino Amelli, *S. Leone e l'Oriente* (Rome 1882).

Synod under Flavian, 448.

Eutyches condemned.

Synod at Constantinople, 449.

absorbed by the Divinity, that even the Body of Christ is not to be regarded as of the same species with ours. This was startling even to those who might be considered members of the same party. Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, once an eager partisan of Cyril and a vigorous opponent of Nestorius, laid the case before Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, and his domestic council[1]. Flavian, a moderate follower of the Antiochene school, took action reluctantly, foreseeing the troubles which might follow, and Eutyches at first refused to appear. After three summonses however he presented himself, and declared that as to one of the charges—that of having said that Christ brought His Body with Him from Heaven—he was guiltless. As to the rest, he said that he had never allowed himself to enquire curiously into the nature[2] of the Lord's Body, and had not been accustomed to say that it was of the same essence as ours[3]; but if it was his duty to say that He took flesh of the Virgin and was of the same essence with us, he would say it; but he persisted that, though the Lord was produced from two Natures before the union[4], after the union there was but one[5]. In the end Eutyches was deprived of his orders, excommunicated, and deposed from his office of archimandrite[6]. He had however powerful supporters; he was favoured by the imperial Court, and also by Dioscorus, who readily seized this opportunity to join in the fray. By favour of the empress, Eutyches obtained a rehearing of his case before a synod at Constantinople[7] in the following year, which however did not reverse the previous sentence. Dioscorus then, in spite of the opposition of Flavian and Pope Leo, induced the emperor to summon to Ephesus an œcumenical council, at which, to use the expression of the emperor's letter to the synod[8], all that devilish root might be extirpated

---

[1] The σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα, composed of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries who happened to be in Constantinople at the time. It is said to have consisted of about 56 bishops and archimandrites. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 480. The Acts of this Council are in Mansi VI. 640 ff.; Hardouin II. 649 ff.

[2] φυσιολογεῖν.

[3] ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν.

[4] γεγεννῆσθαι ἐκ δύο φύσεων πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως.

[5] Compare with this the letter of Eutyches to Pope Leo, in Mansi V. 1015.

[6] See the sentence in Hardouin II. 167.

[7] In Hardouin II. 171 ff.

[8] Hardouin II. 79.

The "Band of Brigands," 449.

and the Nestorians cast out of the churches. Dioscorus himself presided in the council[1], which soon became a scene of the utmost violence and confusion. Eutyches was restored to his rank and office, while his accuser, Eusebius of Dorylæum, was not even granted a hearing, but was deposed, together with Flavian, by the intimidated bishops. When some of them gave signs of protesting, Dioscorus called in a band of soldiers and monks, who with loud shouts and threats put down all opposition. "Cut in two those who talk of two Natures," was the cry. Flavian was so roughly handled that he died on his way to the place of banishment to which he had been sentenced. Hilary, the legate of the Roman bishop, saved himself by flight, as did also Eusebius of Dorylæum. In subsequent sittings the most distinguished members of the Antiochene party—Ibas of Edessa, Irenæus of Tyre, Domnus and Theodoret,—had sentence of deposition passed upon them, while the emperor forbade the circulation of Theodoret's writings, and condemned them to be burnt. This "Band of Brigands[2]", as Leo of Rome called it, marks the culmination of the power of the Alexandrian patriarch and his party.

Leo's Letter, 13 *June,* 449.

But the reaction soon set in. On the death of Theodosius II. the imperial government came into the hands of his sister Pulcheria and her husband Marcian, a man of real ability. The bishop of Rome had already, in a letter to Flavian[3], endeavoured to set forth the right doctrine which was endangered by the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, but at the Ephesine meeting his legates had not been heard. All those who had been injured by the Band of Brigands now turned for help to Leo, who

---

[1] The *Acta* in Mansi v.—vii.; Hardouin ii. 71 ff. Special treatises on this Council are Lewald, *Die sogenannte Räuber-Synode*, in *Zeitschrift für Hist. Theol.* viii. 1; Martin, *Le Pseudo-Synode de Brigandage* (Paris, 1875).

[2] "Latrocinium Ephesinum," Leo, *Epist. 95 ad Pulcheriam; σύνοδος ληστρική*, Theophanes, *Chronograph.* p. 86 (Gieseler i. 464).

[3] This famous letter, the "Tome" of Leo, is *Epist.* 28 in the Ballerini edition of Leo's Works. Given by Harvey, *Vindex Catholicus*, i. 209 ff. Its most characteristic phrases are—"In integra veri hominis perfectaque natura natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris... humana augens, divina non minuens...Tenet enim sine defectu proprietatem suam utraque natura, et sicut formam servi Dei forma non adimit, ita formam Dei servi forma non minuit."

Council of Chalcedon, 451.

was very willing to decide the matter in a Western council under his own influence. The course however preferred by the rulers of the state was to summon an œcumenical council in some spot not too far removed from Constantinople to be under the influence of the Court. Such a council accordingly met at Chalcedon[1] in the year 451, annulled the decisions of the Band of Brigands, and deposed Dioscorus on account of his violent injustice. It recognised Cyril as orthodox; but when it was proposed to vindicate the orthodoxy of Theodoret also, there arose a vehement opposition, and the resolution respecting him was not passed until he had agreed to condemn Nestorius. On the basis of the compromise of 433 and Leo's letter to Flavian a formula[2] was drawn up to the following effect. Our one Lord Jesus Christ is perfect in Godhead and perfect in Manhood, Very God and Very Man of a reasonable soul and a body, of one essence with the Father as touching His Godhead, of one essence with us as touching his Manhood[3], in all respects like to us, sin only excepted; begotten of the Father before the ages as touching His Godhead, but in these last days, for us and for our salvation, born of Mary the Virgin, the Mother of God, as touching His Manhood; one and the same recognised as Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, in two Natures[4] without confusion, without change, without distinction, without separation. And the difference of Natures is in no way abolished by the Union; rather, the properties of each Nature are preserved and run together in one Person and one Substance: the one Son, Only-begotten, God-Word, Lord Jesus Christ is not parted or divided into two Persons. The intention of this was to reject both Eutyches's practical denial of two Natures in the Incarnate Son, and the division of the Godhead and the Manhood which was attributed to Nestorius. But, with all the care with which it was drawn, it still seemed to favour Nestorius rather than Eutyches, and was to those who followed the teaching of Cyril a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence. It was from the Council of Chalcedon that there sprang the great Monophysite controversy which raged from the middle of the fifth century to the end of the sixth, and shook to their foundations both the Church and the empire.

---

[1] Evagrius, *H. E.* II. 4.

[2] In Hardouin II. 450; Mansi VII. 108; Harvey *Vindex Cathol.* III. 38 ff.; Routh, *Opuscula*, 422 ff.; Hahn, *Bibliothek*, p. 84 f.

[3] *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.*

[4] *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν.* That this, and not *ἐκ δύο φύσεων*, is the right reading is evident from the discussion in the Council itself, from the Latin translation "in duabus naturis," and from abundant testimony besides. See Hahn *u. s.* note 347, and Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* II. 451 f.

THE MONOPHYSITES[1]. *Troubles in Palestine,* 451.

4. The first signs of the coming trouble appeared in Palestine. A monk named Theodosius, on his return from Chalcedon, caused by his fanatical preaching against the council an alarming disturbance[2]. With the help of liberated convicts Jerusalem was sacked and burnt, its bishop Juvenal compelled to take flight, and Theodosius ruled for more than a year in his stead. In vain the emperor Marcian[3] strove to overcome the prejudices of the monks; they held on their way, supported by the widow of the emperor Theodosius II., Eudocia—once Athenaïs[4]—who was then living in Palestine. When the insurrection was

453.

at last put down Theodosius took refuge among the monks on Sinai, where the emperor was powerless to reach him. In Egypt a powerful party refused to acknowledge the deposition of Dioscorus by the council, and the election of Proterius as his successor in the see of Alexandria led to

452.

a riot in which a party of soldiers was burned alive by the mob in the Serapeum, to which they had retreated[5]. Proterius was only safe under a military guard. After

---

[1] The principal authorities are, the documents in Mansi vii.—ix.; Hardouin ii. and iii.; Zacharias Rhetor, in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 3 (Leyden, 1870); Evagrius *H. E.* libb. 2—5; Liberatus, *Breviarium;* John of Ephesus, *Church History*, Syriac, ed. Cureton (Oxford, 1853), English by Payne-Smith (Oxf. 1860); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Byzant.*, and in separate edition by De Boor (Leipzig, 1883—5); the writings of Leontius of Byzantium; Timotheus Presbyter, *De Receptione Hæret.* in Cotelerius, *Monum. Eccl. Græcæ*, ii. 377; Anastasius Sinaita, *'Οδηγὸς adv. Acephalos* (in Migne, *Ser. Gr.*89)—Gieseler, *Commentatio qua Monophys. opiniones illustrantur*, 2 parts (Göttingen 1835 and 1838); Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz.*

[2] On the events of this period, see the Life of St Euthymius by Cyril of Scythopolis in Cotelerii *Monumenta Eccl. Græcæ* ii. 200 ff.; and in a shorter and probably more authentic form in the Benedictine *Analecta Græca*, p. 1 ff. (Paris, 1688).

[3] See his letter, Hardouin ii. 667 ff.

[4] On this lady see Gibbon, ch. 32 (iv. 164, ed. Smith), and Gregorovius, *Athenaïs oder Gesch. einer Byzant. Kaiserin.*

[5] Evagrius, *H. E.* ii. 5.

Chap. XI. the death of the emperor Marcian and the accession of *Leo I. Emperor, 457—474.* Leo, the adherents of Dioscorus took courage to elect as patriarch Timotheus Aelurus[1], who had followed Dioscorus into banishment. 457. In the disturbances which followed, Proterius was murdered by the partisans of Timotheus in a baptistery to which he had fled for refuge[2]. After a majority of the bishops had expressed themselves in favour of the maintenance of the definition of Chalcedon[3], the emperor Leo I. restored, so far as external power could, the authority of the orthodox Church. Timotheus Aelurus 460. was banished, and another Timotheus, known as Salophaciolus or Basilicus, was chosen in his place[4]. Even in Antioch, the very place where in general Alexandrian theology was most unfavourably received, Monophysitism now cropped up at the instigation of a monk known as Peter the Fuller, who was supported by the emperor's son-in-law Zeno. Peter had sufficient influence to cause to be inserted in the Trisagion the words "who wast crucified for us" in such a way as to make it appear *Zeno Emperor, 474.* that the Son of God in His deity suffered for us[5]. After the death of Leo I. and his grandson, the Monophysite Zeno *Basiliscus usurper, 475,* himself succeeded, only to be overthrown by Basiliscus. This usurper depended on the support of those who were opposed to the Definition of Chalcedon, which in a circular 476. letter or Encyclic[6] he expressly rejected. The Encyclic was accepted by many bishops, and those who had been banished by Leo, Timotheus Aelurus and Peter the Fuller among them, returned to their sees. Basiliscus *Zeno restored, 477.* was however in his turn overthrown by Zeno, and the adherents of the Chalcedonian formula came again into power. Peter Mongus, who on the death of Timotheus Aelurus, which had occurred in the meanwhile, had succeeded him on the throne of Alexandria, was compelled to vacate it, and Salophaciolus, who was popular with all parties, was restored. Peter the Fuller was compelled to leave Antioch. Zeno, who had (as we have seen) once favoured the Monophysites, but who had probably no very strong conviction on the matter, saw the importance of putting an end to the theological feud. He put forth, with the advice of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, who had greatly aided him to recover power, a Confession of Faith intended to promote union, commonly called the Henoticon[1]. It attempted to avoid at any rate the terms which had given most offence. After describing the Lord as co-essential with the Father and also with Man in the terms adopted at Chalcedon, and giving the epithet Theotokos to the Virgin, it proceeded to insist that it was one and the same person who wrought wonders and endured suffering—thus virtually accepting the "God crucified" of the Monophysites—and it anathematized those who held other views whether in the Council of Chalcedon or in any other. This was submitted to the bishops for subscription. *The Henoticon,* 482.

---

[1] *Αἴλουρος* in Evagrius, *Ἔλουρος* in Theophanes. It has been suggested that this is a corruption of *Ἔρουλος*, the Herulian. See Möller, *K.-G.* p. 444, n. 2. As it stands, it means "the cat."

[2] Evagrius, *H. E.* II. 8.

[3] See their letters in Hardouin II. 705 ff.

[4] Evagrius II. 11.

[5] So that the Greek *τρισάγιον* ran —*Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος [ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς], ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.* See Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. of Chr. Antiq.* p. 1997. That God was crucified for us was a favourite tenet of the Monophysites.

[6] In Evagrius, *H. E.* III. 4.

The Henoticon had not the effect which the emperor had hoped from it, but it had others which he had not contemplated. Peter Mongus accepted it, and was therefore confirmed by imperial power in the patriarchal throne of Alexandria to which he had been elected as a Monophysite. Peter the Fuller was made patriarch of Antioch. But the strict Monophysites were just as little contented with it as the adherents of the Chalcedonian Definition, 485. and the latter sought and found support in Rome. The then pope, Felix III., finding that his threats remained unnoticed and that his legates were overawed and cajoled by Acacius, at last condemned the Henoticon and excommunicated Acacius[2]. 484. Thus intercommunion ceased between the Latin Church and so much of the Greek Church as remained in communion with Acacius, though the adherents of Chalcedon throughout the empire maintained communion with Rome. The Henoticon, in fact, was very 491. far from being a bond of union. In Constantinople the decrees of Chalcedon were highly esteemed, in Alexandria they were rejected, in the East opinions were divided. The Henoticon might serve to promote formal unity, but there could not fail to arise friction between the parties and sometimes open division. *Anastasius Emperor, 491–518.* Anastasius when he ascended the imperial throne set himself simply to maintain peace and good order in the empire[1]. He held that it was unworthy of an emperor to persecute the worshippers of Christ and the citizens of Rome[2], and faithfully observed the promise, which he had made to the patriarch on his accession, to make no change in the Henoticon. Nevertheless the Monophysite party tended to gain strength. Xenajas, called by the Greeks Philoxenus[3], who had been made bishop of Hierapolis in the days of Peter the Fuller, contended strongly for the Monophysite view, and was certainly not discouraged by the emperor. He was aided by Severus, a monk who had gained considerable power at the imperial court. When however under his influence an attempt was made to introduce at Constantinople also the Monophysite interpolation—"who wast crucified for us"—into the Trisagion, *Revolt, 514.* so fierce a revolt took place that Anastasius, brave soldier as he was, grew timid, and ranged himself more decidedly with the adherents of the Chalcedonian decrees. Moreover, he entered into negotiations with Rome for the renewal of intercommunion, but the discussions as to the terms of peace were prolonged, and no definite conclusion had been reached at the end of his reign. When he died he shared the fate of all who in times of heated controversy have not been partisans; his memory was loaded with opprobrious epithets, as "Arian" and "Manichæan[4]." *Justin Emperor, 518—527.* When Justin succeeded, the guidance of ecclesiastical affairs came practically into the hands of his nephew Justinian. There was at once a change. The patriarch John of Constantinople found himself compelled to anathematize the Monophysites and solemnly to accept the Decrees of Chalcedon. The orthodox throughout the East everywhere rose against their late oppressors, and the emperor made overtures to Hormisdas for the restoration of peace and intercommunion with Rome, which actually came to pass in 519. Severus, who had become patriarch of Antioch, and other leading Monophysites were driven from their sees, and fled to Egypt, where their party was so strong that the imperial government did not think it prudent to interfere.

---

[1] Τὸ ἑνωτικόν. In Evagrius III. 14.

[2] Evagrius III. 18. Felix's letter conveying the sentence in Mansi VII. 1053. Acacius retaliated by striking out the name of Felix from the Diptychs (Theophanes, p. 114.)

---

[1] Evagrius iii. 30.

[2] Gibbon's *Rome*, c. 47 (vi. 31 ed. Smith).

[3] He was the patron of the well-known Philoxenian Version of the New Testament, which was made by Polycarp (508) and dedicated to him. See Westcott in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 1635.

[4] Evagrius, *H. E.* iii. 32; Theodorus Lector, *H. E.* ii. 6.

519.

Alexandria seemed to be infected with a morbid passion for theological distinctions. No sooner did the Monophysite leaders find themselves together in that city than they became divided among themselves[1]. Severus maintained that the Body of the Lord was not so changed by the indwelling of the Divinity but that it remained liable to corruption, whence his adherents received from their opponents the nickname of "Phthartolatræ," worshippers of the corruptible; while Julius, bishop of Halicarnassus, asserted that the Human Nature of Christ was so absorbed in the Divine that He was not subject to the accidents of humanity or to corruption; what He suffered He had suffered from no natural necessity, but of His own free will for the redemption of man. Hence the followers of Julian were styled Aphthartodocetæ, as holding the opinion of the incorruptibility of Christ's Body. Again, Themistius, an Alexandrian deacon, propounded the question, whether Christ during His life on earth was omniscient. And at a later date, as if there were not already divisions enough, the great Aristotelian, Johannes Philoponus[2], asserted that if there are two natures in Christ, there must needs be two substances, for "nature" and "substance" are the same thing; he also represented the Resurrection as a wholly new creation, and was thought to have fallen into Tritheism in his view of the Holy Trinity; while Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, on the other hand, was held to have fallen into Sabellianism. At the same time the Alexandrian sophist Stephen Niobes[3] put forth the opinion, condemned by the other Monophysites, that

Severians.

Julianists.

Johannes Philoponus, c. 560.

Damianites.

Niobites.

---

[1] These divisions are specially treated by Timotheus Presbyter in his *De Variis Hæreticis* etc. (Cotelerius *Monum. Eccl. Gr.* III. 377 ff.). See also Walch, *Ketzerhistorie*, VIII. 520 ff.

[2] Leontius, *De Sectis*, Act. 5, c. 6, quoted by Gieseler, I. 635, note. See also Joh. Damascenus *De Hæresibus*, c. 83.

[3] Dionysius Patr. Antioch. in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* II. 72; Timotheus *u. s.* pp. 397, 407 ff., 417 ff.

after the Incarnation there was in Christ no distinction of Natures whatever.

Justinian Emperor, 527—565.

Justinian, when he became emperor, was probably much more anxious to restore unity to the Church than to give the victory to any particular phase of doctrine; while his wife Theodora, a woman of great force of character and very influential in the government, was believed to favour the Monophysites. It was part of the emperor's great task of restoring the reign of law and order in the empire to put an end to the distracted condition of the Church. He caused conferences to be held between Catholic and Monophysite bishops[1], without much result. The Monophysite formula, "God was crucified for us," which had already occasioned so much disturbance, and which was rejected by many Catholics, was declared by Justinian, in a formal enactment[2], to be orthodox; he anathematized those who refused to confess that one of the Persons of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity was crucified for us. This was accepted by the pope[3], but did not conciliate the Monophysites. They were still in Egypt the dominant party, though, under the emperor's influence, a Catholic, Paulus, had become patriarch of Alexandria. For a short time they had a supporter in the See of Constantinople, Anthimus, whose election had been furthered by Theodora. In the year 536 however the Roman bishop Agapetus, who had come to Constantinople to plead for the Gothic king, Theodahad, then hard pressed by Belisarius, had sufficient influence to bring about the disgrace of Anthimus, and Mennas was raised to the vacant throne. The latter in the year of his election held a council at Constantinople[4] at which Anthimus and other leading Monophysites were excommunicated; and Justinian forbade Anthimus and Severus to enter the capital. Meantime Agapetus had died at Constantinople, and the deacon Vigilius, who was in his company, is said to have made a compact with Theodora, that if he were

Collatio, 533 (?).

Anthimus Patriarch, 535,

deposed, 536.

Council, 536.

Death of Agapetus, 536.

---

[1] The minutes of the *Collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis* in Mansi viii. 817 ff.; Hardouin ii. 1159 ff. Several conferences are mentioned in a document given by Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 89.

[2] *Codex*, i. 1. 6; Justinian's *Epist. ad Joannem Papam* in Hardouin ii. 1146.

[3] See his letter in reply to Justinian, Hardouin ii. 1148; Mansi viii. 797.

[4] Hardouin ii. 1185 ff.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 556 f.

chosen pope he would disregard the Council of Chalcedon and re-enter into communion with those who refused to accept its definition. In his absence Silverius had been chosen pope in Rome, but Belisarius, then all-powerful in Italy, at Theodora's bidding easily procured the banishment of Silverius on a charge of treason, and the election of the time-serving Vigilius, who managed to hold his own against the rightful pope. But in the midst of the orthodox West he found it impossible to keep the promise which he had made to the heterodox Theodora[1]. His duplicity is indeed very evident; for while to the Monophysite bishops he professed entire agreement with their principles, to Justinian and to the orthodox patriarch he declared his perfect orthodoxy[2].

Vigilius Pope, 538.

Meantime Theodorus Ascidas, bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, had presented himself at the imperial court and gained the confidence of the emperor. This prelate persuaded Justinian[3] that he might gratify the Monophysites without actually rejecting the decrees of Chalcedon, if he were to condemn not only Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom even the orthodox held in suspicion, but also the treatises in which Theodoret had opposed Cyril, and the letter of Ibas to Maris, although at Chalcedon the two latter had been expressly declared orthodox. In the year 544 he accordingly issued an edict[4] in which all these writings were condemned, commonly known as the edict of the Three Chapters or Articles, which was generally welcomed in the East, but steadily resisted in the West. Justinian, nothing daunted, summoned Vigilius to Constantinople, where he succeeded in persuading or compelling him to issue a formal decision[5] to the same effect as the edict. But in yielding to the emperor he gave the gravest offence to the clergy of his own province.

Theodorus Ascidas.

Tria Capitula, 544.

Vigilius's judicatum, 548.

---

[1] Letter to Anthimus etc. in Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. 22, and in the *Chronicon* of Victor Tunun. (Canisii *Lectiones Ant.* I. 330).

[2] *Epistola ad Justinianum*, in Mansi IX. 35 f.; *ad Mennam*, 38 f.

[3] See on this point the evidence of Domitian of Ancyra in Facundi *Defensio Trium Capit.* IV. 4; and Liberati *Brev.* c. 24; in Gieseler I. 641, note i.

[4] Of this edict only a few fragments have been preserved, by Facundus, *Defensio*, II. 3; IV. 4. See Walch, *Ketzerhistorie*, VIII. 150 ff.

[5] This judicatum is also lost, with the exception of a fragment contained in Justinian's letter to the Fifth Œcum. Council; Mansi IX. 181. The circumstances are narrated by Facundus.

Illyrian Council, 549.

Facundus.

African Council, 550.

Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, 553.

Vigilius dies, 555.

A synod in Illyria sent to the emperor a set defence of the writings which he had impugned[1]. In Africa the condemned writings were defended by one of the ablest men of the time, Facundus of Hermiane, who wrote in a fearless and candid spirit without regard to temporary popularity. He saw clearly the evils which sprang from the constant hair-splitting of the Greeks, from the tendency of ignorant persons to pronounce arrogant judgments, and from the interference of the civil government, which, after all, cannot coerce men's thoughts[2]. Guided by him, the African bishops not only controverted the emperor's views, but also formally excommunicated Vigilius[3]. Under this pressure the unlucky pope summoned courage to refuse to accept a dogmatic statement[4], embodying the condemnation of the Three Articles, which the emperor put forth in the year 551. Justinian, much perplexed, summoned a council at Constantinople, known as the Fifth Œcumenical, which Vigilius refused to attend; he even defended the condemned writings in a formal ordinance[5]. The council thereupon, under the emperor's influence, approved all the edicts on matters of dogma which he had put forth, and directed the name of Vigilius to be removed from the list of those commemorated in the Eucharist[6]. While these things were done at Constantinople, Narses had restored the imperial authority in Italy, and the pope saw with dismay that even in Rome he would not be out of the reach of the emperor's arm. It was perhaps this consideration which induced him to accept the decrees of the council, which he did in 554[7]. In the following year he left Constantinople to return to Rome, but died on his journey at Syracuse. Pelagius, who was chosen as his successor by those who favoured the emperor's proceedings, ignoring his own previous declarations, at once accepted the decrees of the Fifth Council[1].

---

[1] Victor Tunun. *Chronicon*, p. 332.

[2] See his *Defensio*, XII. 4; quoted by Neander, IV. 274 f.

[3] Victor Tunun. *u. s.*, quoted by Gieseler, *K.-G.* I. 643, note p.

[4] Ὁμολογία πίστεως Ἰουστ. Αὐτοκράτορος, in *Chron. Alexandr.* p. 344 ff. (ed. Dufresne); in Mansi IX. 537 ff. On Vigilius's conduct, see the *Epistola Clericorum Italiæ* (A.D. 551) in Mansi IX. 151 ff.; Hardouin III. 47.

[5] Mansi IX. 61 ff.; Hardouin III. 10 ff.

[6] The *Acta* of this Council are in Mansi IX. 157 ff.; Hardouin III. 51 ff.

[7] See his *Epist. ad Eutychium*, in Mansi IX. 413 ff.; Hardouin III. 213 ff.

Justinian's last effort, 564, death, 565.

Justinian was even still not weary of interfering in theological controversies, and shortly before his death, in his eagerness at all costs to bring the Monophysites back to the Church, he declared the views of the Aphthartodocetæ to be orthodox[2]. Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, was banished for refusing to accept this, and Anastasius Sinaita, patriarch of Antioch, only escaped a similar fate by the death of the emperor. His successor, Justin II., did not attempt to carry out his policy.

Schisms arise.

Alexandria.

Æthiopia.

Armenia.

Syria and Mesopotamia.

Jacob Baradai, 541—578.

Justinian's attempt to regulate the dogma of the Church, while it alienated the Western Church, did not win the Monophysites. On the contrary, it was in his reign that they drew together and formed separate communities. Few of the Egyptians accepted the Patriarch of Alexandria who had been appointed under the influence of Justinian; the great majority chose a Patriarch of their own, and so formed a schismatical church which was never reconciled[3]; and the Æthiopic Church[4] cast in its lot with the Alexandrian. In Armenia[5] also the Monophysite party, favoured by the Persian rulers of the country, gained the upper hand towards the end of the fifth century. Early in the sixth the synod of Theoria declared itself in favour of Monophysite views, and about the year six hundred the Armenian Church ceased to be in communion with the Iberian, which adhered to the decrees of Chalcedon. In Syria and Mesopotamia the Monophysites, persecuted and forsaken, seemed on the point of disappearing altogether, when they were revived by the extraordinary energy of Jacob Baradai, and in consequence came to be called Jacobites[6]. In the West too there arose a long-enduring schism in consequence of the acceptance by the

---

[1] Victor Tunun., *Chronicon*, an. 555, quoted by Gieseler I. 645, note x.

[2] Evagrius, *H. E.* IV. 39—41.

[3] See Taki-Eddini Makrizi, *Hist. Coptitarum Christianorum*, Arabic and Latin, ed. H. J. Wetzer (Sulzbach 1828); E. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. Jacobit.*; M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II. 357 ff. (ed. Paris 1740).

[4] J. Ludolph, *Hist. Æthiopica;* M. Veyssier La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Éthiopie et d'Arménie* (La Haye, 1739).

[5] Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie* (Paris, 1828); Clem. Galanus, *Hist. Armena Eccl. et Politica;* Le Quien, *O. C.* I. 136 ff.

[6] Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, tom. 2.

Western schism.

Roman pontiff of the decrees of Constantinople. The churches which acknowledged Aquileia as their metropolis renounced communion with the Roman Church, as did also the western portion of Northern Italy under the authority of Milan. Never perhaps was the dignity of the see of Rome in so great peril as in the days when the weakest of the popes was brought into collision with the strongest of the emperors. The papacy lost for the time the prestige of independence which was its proudest prerogative. The strong hand of Gregory the Great brought back Milan and the greater part of Northern Italy to the Roman obedience, but it was at the cost of ignoring the Fifth Œcumenical Council[1].

IV. *The Origenistic Controversy.*

Origen's Theology[2].

Origen was, as we have seen, in the third century the great teacher of theology in the Christian Church. The time however came when they who had followed in his footsteps turned against their guide. Origen's teaching was that of a time of seeking and forming, and seemed to some of those who looked back to it from the stand-point of a more definite system to transgress the bounds of orthodoxy. All the great party-leaders of the fourth century had appealed to him. The Arians claimed his support for their doctrine that the Lord was a created being and subordinate to the Father; their opponents found in his works the assertion that the Son was begotten of the Father from all eternity. He had, in fact, for several generations many distinguished adherents both in Antioch and in

---

[1] See his *Epistolæ*, iv. 2–4, 38, 39. He accepts the first four Œcumenical Councils, and is silent about the Fifth.

[2] The principal original authorities are, for the first part, Socrates vi. 7 ff., Sozomen viii. 11 ff., and Jerome's letters of the period; for the second, the Life of St Sabas by Cyril of Scythopolis (in Cotelerii *Monum. Eccl. Græcæ*, iii. 220 ff.); Liberati *Breviarium* (in Galland, *Biblioth. Patrum*, xii. 119 ff.; and in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxviii.); and Evagrius *H. E.* iv. 38.—More recent works on the subject are Huet's *Origeniana*, in his edition of the Commentaries, reprinted in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* tom. 17; C. W. F. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, vii. 333 ff.; viii. 280 ff.; Vincenzi, *St Greg. Nyss. et Origenis Nova Defensio* (Rome 1865), criticised in *Theol. Quartalschrift* (Tübingen) 1867, p. 331 ff.; Hefele in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchen-Lexikon*, vii. 844 ff.; A. W. W. Dale in Smith and Wace's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 142 ff.

Alexandria. These no doubt studied and understood him; but many joined in the fray who did not. Men whose conceptions of God and of the soul of man were—however little they were conscious of it—materialistic, naturally hated his spiritual teaching, and regarded him as the most subtle and the most dangerous of heretics. Many of the monks were of this anthropomorphic school; yet it was among monks and hermits that Epiphanius detected what he thought a heresy derived from the teaching of Origen, and he felt himself bound, as the champion of orthodoxy, to try to close the source of error[1]. His first steps with this view were taken on a visit which he paid to Jerusalem. Here in the later years of the fourth century had been formed a group of men devoted equally to ascetic life and to the study of theology. The centre of this group was John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, himself an ardent admirer of Origen. Among its members were Rufinus, who during his stay in Egypt had been a pupil of the Origenist Didymus; and Jerome, then an eager student of the works of Origen, whose fame, whether as a theologian or as an expositor of Scripture, he desired to emulate. He had already begun to make his master known to the West by means of Latin translations, when murmurs against his orthodoxy reached his ears, and soon afterwards Epiphanius came into his neighbourhood and preached against his errors. Epiphanius was generally reverenced as a saint, and great regard was paid to his opinions. Bishop John however, who seems to have regarded him as a narrow-minded fanatic, was not won over. Epiphanius thereupon broke off communion with him, and required Jerome and his monks at Bethlehem to do the same. He himself, ignoring the episcopal rights of John, ordained Jerome's brother, Paulinianus, to the priesthood. Jerome now found many errors in the author whom he had lately admired, and so severed himself from his old friend Rufinus, who could not so readily leave his first love.

Palestinian Origenists.

Epiphanius in Palestine, 394.

By the intervention of Theophilus of Alexandria the strife in Palestine was for the time appeased[2]. But Rufinus after his return to the West published a translation of Pamphilus's Defence of Origen, in the preface to which he

Rufinus's Translations, 398.

---

[1] The Origenists form the 64th heresy in Epiphanius's *Panarion.*

[2] Jerome, *Epistt.* 59—63; 111 ed. Vallarsi); [al. 86—96].

glanced at his detractors, but at the same time guarded himself against the supposition that he himself shared the opinions attributed to him on the Trinity and on the Resurrection. These opinions, he contended, were not Origen's, but interpolated by heretics into his works. Further, in the preface to his translation of Origen *De Principiis* he attempted to defend his practice of toning down certain risky expressions of his author, alleging that Jerome in his Origenistic period had done the same. Jerome, greatly provoked, replied[1], denying the truth of some of Rufinus's allegations, and trying by all means to clear himself of the charge of Origenism. The principal false opinions which he attributed to the incriminated teacher were these. Origen declares that as it is improper to say that the Son can see the Father, so it is unbefitting to suppose that the Spirit can see the Son; and that souls are in this body bound as in a prison-house, while before man was created, they were among the blessed beings in heavenly places. He asserts that the devil and the evil spirits will sometime repent and be numbered among the blessed ones. He interprets the "coats of skins" which were given to Adam and his wife after the Fall to mean human bodies. He denies the resurrection of the flesh. He allegorizes Paradise in such a way as to deprive it of all historical reality, making the trees angels and the rivers the heavenly virtues. The waters which were above the heavens he understands to be divine and supernal powers, the waters on and under the earth devilish and infernal powers. He asserts that man, after his expulsion from Paradise, lost the image and likeness of God in which he had been made. Thereupon arose a painful literary contest between Jerome and Rufinus[2], exasperated probably by the former friendship of the combatants. The Roman bishop Anastasius, instigated by Marcella and other friends of Jerome, summoned Rufinus to appear and answer for himself before his tribunal. Rufinus however, though he sent a written defence, did not appear, and Anastasius proceeded to condemn Origen, of whose works he avowedly knew nothing, and to express strong disapproval of Rufinus[3].

Jerome's objections to Origen.

Anastasius summons Rufinus, 399.

---

[1] *Epist.* 41 [al. 84].

[2] On one side, Rufini *Apologia in Hieron.*; on the other, Hieronymi *Apologia adv. Rufinum;* in Hieron. *Opera*, II. 455 ff. ed. Vallarsi.

[3] Anastasii *Epist. ad Joannem*

Theophilus changes sides, 399.

Theophilus himself had in 399 declared himself opposed to the anthropomorphism which, in the strongest opposition to the views of Origen, attributed to God a human form; God, he contended, alone of all existing things, was to be conceived as purely immaterial. In consequence of this declaration he was fiercely attacked by some of the fanatical monks of the Egyptian desert, and so cowed that he consented to condemn the works of Origen[1]. On this change of views, he attacked the Nitrian monks, who were for the most part devoted to Origen, and with whom he had once been in entire sympathy. Against these men and all who held their views he proceeded with unrelenting harshness. At a synod in Alexandria[2] about the year 400 a sentence of condemnation was passed on all who taught the doctrines of Origen or even read his books. When the Origenistic monks refused to obey the decrees of the synod, Theophilus incited the anthropomorphists among them, who were the majority, to drive out these Origenist brethren. These, escaping with some difficulty, found no refuge even with their friend John of Jerusalem; for Theophilus in an encyclical letter had stigmatized them as wild and dangerous fanatics. They at last resolved to present themselves at the imperial court at Constantinople, where they hoped for the support of its bishop, John Chrysostom[3].

Synod at Alexandria, 400?

Expelled monks at Constantinople.

The bishop received them kindly and took measures for their maintenance. As they were for the present under anathema, he felt himself precluded from admitting them to communion, but he wrote to Theophilus, begging him to absolve the refugees. These however had no mind to submit tamely to Theophilus's proceedings and desired to bring a formal charge against him before the emperor. It was at the same time falsely reported to Theophilus that John had admitted the monks to communion. Chrysostom was anxious to keep clear of a violent controversy, but the aggrieved monks gained the ear of the empress Eudoxia, and brought it to pass that the emperor summoned a

---

Hieros. (Coustant, p. 719; Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* xx. 68 ff.; Gieseler, *K.-G.* i. 410).

[1] Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 7; Sozomen *H. E.* viii. 11.

[2] Socrates vi. 7; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus* i. 6. Fragments of its decrees are found in Justinian's Letter to Mennas, afterwards referred to.

[3] Socrates vi. 9; Sozomen viii. 13.

Proposed Synod.

synod to Constantinople, over which the bishop of that city was to preside, to pass judgment on the proceedings of Theophilus, who was duly cited to appear. The effect of this citation was that he conceived a violent hatred for Chrysostom, whom he determined to ruin. He worked upon Epiphanius, now a very old man, to take a fresh step in his opposition to the opinions of Origen. This bishop summoned a synod of his diocese, Cyprus, which anathematized the writings of Origen[1]. He then took a journey to Constantinople[2], where he requested Chrysostom to withdraw his protection from the monks and join in the condemnation which had just been pronounced in Cyprus. Chrysostom, though by no means an undiscriminating admirer of Origen, not unnaturally resisted this attempt at dictation, and Epiphanius, a man of honest and straightforward character, finding that he had been misled as to the views of his opponents[3], probably began to suspect that he was being made the tool of an intriguer. He therefore left the capital and sailed for Cyprus, but died before he reached home. The further proceedings of Eudoxia and Theophilus against the good bishop of Constantinople do not belong to the Origenistic controversy[4]. His enemies were determined to accomplish his ruin, and the charges brought against him, without any regard to their truth, were such as gave the civil power a pretext for interfering. Theophilus, in spite of all he had said against him, continued to devote himself to the study of Origen, and for this and other reasons incurred the contempt of all right-minded men[5].

Cyprian Synod, 401 ?

Controversy renewed in the sixth century. 520.

In spite of official condemnation the influence of Origen's genius lived on. In the sixth century there were many Origenists among the monks of the great monasteries founded by St Sabas in Palestine, and four of these were expelled from the "New Laura[6]" by their abbat Agapetus on account of their opinions. His successor Mamas reinstated them, but in the year 530 Sabas himself visited Constantinople and begged the emperor Justinian to expel

Sabas at Constantinople, 530,

---

[1] Socrates VI. 10; Sozomen VIII. 14.—Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 370.

[2] Socrates VI. 12.

[3] Sozomen VIII. 15.

[4] See p. 219.

[5] Socrates VI. 17.

[6] A Laura was an aggregation of separate cells, under the control of a superior. See *Dict. Chr. Ant.* II. 934.

the Origenists. Before however any steps could be taken to effect this, Sabas died, and Origenism continued to spread in Palestine, especially through the influence of a monk named Domitian, and of Theodorus Ascidas[1], who was prominent in the Monophysite controversy. Both these men had influence at court, and under their protection the Origenists gained the upper hand in the Lauras, and expelled their opponents. The latter were however favoured by Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch[2], and the emperor Justinian, when the dispute was brought before him, was induced by the Roman legate Pelagius (afterwards pope), to put forth a theological treatise against Origen, ending with a list of opinions which he held to deserve anathema[3]. This was subscribed by Mennas the patriarch, and by "those bishops who were in Constantinople at the time[4];" that is, by those who constituted the Home Synod[5] of that city. The same synod appears to have anathematized fifteen propositions found, or said to be found, in the works of Origen[6]. As however Cyril of Scythopolis and Evagrius agree in stating that the Fifth Œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople, condemned Origen, these anathemas have been attributed to that council, even by authorities as early as the latter part of the eighth century. But as three popes of the sixth century attribute to the Fifth Council only the decision on the "Three Chapters[7]" and say nothing of any canon affecting Origen, while the Acts of the council contain no mention of any discussion of Origen's opinions, we may fairly presume that the anathemas have the sanction only of the Home Synod of Constantinople, which was simply the echo of Justinian. Origen appears indeed to be condemned in the eleventh canon of the Fifth Council, but the name is probably interpolated[8]. Theodorus Ascidas seems in fact to have diverted the emperor's attention from the Origen-

dies 531.

Domitian and Theodorus Ascidas.

Mennas's Synod, 540 ?

553.

Anathemas attributed to Fifth Œcumen. Council.

---

[1] See p. 301.

[2] Cyril Scyth. *Vita S. Sabae*, c. 85.

[3] Mansi IX. 487 ff.; Hardouin III. 243 ff.

[4] "Quam subscripserunt una cum Menna archiepiscopo episcopi apud Constantinopolim reperti." Liberatus, *Breviarium*, c. 23.

[5] *Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα.* See p. 292.

[6] Hardouin III. 283 ff. These anathemas were brought to light by Peter Lambeck of Vienna in the seventeenth century.

[7] See p. 301.

[8] This is Hefele's opinion, *Kirchen-Lex.* VII. 850.

CHAP. XI.

Origenism again prevalent.

Protoktistæ.

Isochristi.

Macarius of Jerusalem, 544.

ists, whom he favoured though he had subscribed the emperor's edict against them, and under his protection they became dominant in Palestine. They were soon however divided against themselves. One party, considering the soul of Christ to have existed before the Incarnation and to be itself divine, received from their friends the name of Protoktistæ, but from their enemies that of Tetraditæ, as making four persons in the divine essence. Another was that of the Isochristi, who taught that in the end all souls would become like that of Christ. A representative of the latter, Macarius, the second of that name, was even elected to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem. The Protoktistæ now, seeing the danger of being crushed, gave up their theory of preëxistence and rejoined the orthodox Church. Macarius was driven from his see by Justinian, who caused the Catholic Eustochius to be appointed in his stead. The Lauras of Palestine were purged of Origenists. From this time the Origenists as a party vanish from history, but there have never been wanting distinguished men who have honoured Origen as one of the leaders of Christian thought.

V. *Priscillianism.*

Priscillian,

his teaching.

A Western echo of Eastern error is probably to be found in the Spanish sect of Priscillianists. This derived its origin and its name from Priscillian[1], a man of wealth, family and education[2], and evidently of an enthusiastically religious temperament. In his works Priscillian shews himself an earnest believer in Christ the only God; in fact, he so emphasizes the Godhead of Christ and the unity of God as to suggest that he regarded the Holy Trinity somewhat as Swedenborg in later days regarded it[1]; and he seems to have taken a view of the Incarnation which did not much differ from that of Apollinaris. He insisted with great earnestness on the wide distribution of the gift of prophecy in the Church of Christ; it was, he taught, by no means limited to the prophets of the Canonical Scriptures[2]; everywhere and at all times might God raise up witnesses for Himself. Doubtless he regarded himself as such a witness. From his exposition of the Creed it may probably be inferred that he believed in the immortality of the soul, hardly in the resurrection of the flesh[3]. Whatever dogmas he may have held, it is clear that he was possessed by a strongly ascetic spirit. He felt keenly the contrast between the Church and the world; that the friendship of the world is enmity with God was a living principle with him[4]. He seems to have been influenced by Origen, perhaps also by the Luciferians, the disciples of Lucifer of Cagliari[5], who were numerous in Spain. Whatever may have been the errors of Priscillian, we can hardly fail to recognize in him one of those eager spirits which can draw to them sympathetic souls.

---

[1] Priscilliani *quæ supersunt*, discovered in a Würzburg MS. in 1885, and published by the discoverer, G. Schepss, at Vienna in 1889 (*Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.*, vol. 18); Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon* II. 46—51, and *Dialogus* III. 11 ff.; Pacati Drepanii *Panegyricus* (*XII. Panegyrici Latini*, ed. Bährens, p. 297 ff.); P. Orosii *Commonitorium* (with Priscillian's *Remains*, ed. Schepss); Augustin, *De Hæres.* c. 70; Jerome, *De Viris Illust.* c. 121; Leonis M. *Epist.* 93 *ad Turribium.* —C. W. F. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, IV. 378 ff.; v. Vries, *Diss. Crit. de Prisc.* (Utrecht 1745); Lübker, *De Hæres. Prisc.*; Mandernach, *Gesch. des Priscill.* These are to some extent antiquated by the discovery of Priscillian's Remains. Since that time have been published, G. Schepss, *Priscillianus, ein neu aufgefundener Schriftsteller* (Würzburg 1886), reviewed by Loofs, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 392 ff.; W. Möller, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 462 ff.; Paret, *Priscill. ein Reformator des 4. Jahrhunderts.*

[2] Sulpicius Severus, *Chronic.* II. 46.

Priscillian forms conventicles.

Not finding the Church of his own day sufficiently pure from the world, he established meetings of his disciples, not with a view, it would appear, of separating them from the Catholic Church[6], but of raising them to a higher level of Christian life. These conventicles had however probably the effect of making the Priscillianists less regular attendants at the public worship of the Church; at all events, they gave offence to those in authority. The bishop of Cordova, Hyginus, informed the metropolitan, Idacius of Merida, of the spread of this irregular worship, and a council, at which twelve bishops attended, was held at Saragossa[7] to consider the matter. It passed eight canons intended principally to check the irregular meetings. They

Council at Saragossa, 380.

---

[1] "Nullum alium deum esse credentes nisi Christum Deum Dei Filium," *Tractatus* I. p. 31; cf. pp. 25, 39, and Orosii *Commonit.* p. 155.

[2] *Tractatus* I. p. 32; III. p. 44 ff.

[3] *Ib.* II. p. 37.

[4] *Ib.* IV. p. 57.

[5] See p. 274.

[6] "Qui sibi sectarum nomen imponunt Christiani nomen amittunt." *Tract.* II. p. 39.

[7] Sulpicius Sev. *Chron.* II. 47; Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 805.

forbade women to be present at conventicles where men exhorted, or themselves to meet for mutual instruction. They forbade all persons to go into seclusion during Lent or during the three weeks preceding the Epiphany, and strictly enjoined them to attend the services in their churches regularly during those periods. They forbade such ascetic practices as fasting on Sunday or walking barefoot. They forbade any man to assume the title of teacher (doctor) without authority. That these canons were directed against the Priscillianists there is no doubt, though they are nowhere named in them[1]. They do not impute false doctrine to those whom they have in view, but censure irregularities and excessive asceticism; an asceticism which probably disinclined those who practised it, as it did the English Puritans in later days, to take part in the festivities of Christmastide. The Priscillianists were not present at the council, having apparently not been summoned[2], but in their absence two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, who had been won over to the side of the ascetics, with Elpidius and Priscillian himself, who were laymen, were condemned and excommunicated[3]. Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba—who was probably the more ready to proceed vigorously against ascetics, as he was himself a man much given to self-indulgence[4]—was commissioned to bring this decree to the knowledge of all bishops, and especially of Hyginus[5], who had received the heretics to communion. Idacius, after his return to Merida, was accused of some unnamed transgression, upon which many of his clergy withdrew from communion with him[6]. Priscillian, now bishop of Avila, coming to Merida with a view to make peace, was beaten by some of Idacius's partizans, but seems nevertheless to have found some favour with the laity of the place[7].

There was now serious division and heated controversy in several cities of Spain, and, as is usual in such cases, charges and counter-charges flew thickly about. It was discovered that the Priscillianists were Gnostics or Manichæans, and given to magical arts—a charge to which some plausibility was given by their seclusion and asceticism. Priscillian himself repudiated and condemned Manes in the most emphatic manner[1], as he did also the Arians, the Patripassians and many other heretics; but it is not improbable that, consciously or unconsciously, he agreed with some of the Gnostics in regarding the soul as having left the realms of light and purity and become entangled in the chains of evil matter[2]. He not only adopted the curious fancy, which appears in almanacs even to our own time, that the several signs of the Zodiac influenced each some particular part of the human body, as Aries the head, Taurus the neck, Gemini the arms, Cancer the breast, and so forth; but he recognized a similar correspondence in the twelve Patriarchs to the parts of the soul, as Reuben to the head, Judah to the breast, Levi to the heart, and the rest[3]. As he was followed by certain ladies who were devoted to him, it is not wonderful that charges of immorality were made against him.

---

[1] The heading "contra Priscillianistas," which is given in Hardouin and elsewhere, is modern.

[2] Prisc. *Tract.* II. p. 35.

[3] Sulpic. Sev. *Chron.* II. 47.

[4] "Fuit audax, loquens, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri et gulae plurimum impertiens" (Sulpic. Sev. *Chron.* II. 50).

[5] I read (with Möller, *K.-G.* 465) "commonefaceret" in Sulpicius u.s. 47.

[6] Priscill. *Tract.* II. p. 39.

[7] *Ib.* p. 40.

Gratian's Rescript.

Whatever was his guilt, his enemies were powerful, and procured from the weak emperor Gratian a rescript banishing the Priscillianists from the empire[4]. Priscillian then, with the bishops of his party, betook himself to Italy[5], hoping to convince Damasus of Rome and the great Ambrose, one of the chief advisers of the young emperor, of his innocence. In this he failed, but he succeeded—it was said by bribery—in procuring a rescript, repealing that which had been issued against him and his followers, and ordering the restitution of their churches, to which they accordingly returned[6]. Ithacius now became an exile. Just at this crisis Maximus, a Spaniard, put Gratian to flight and seized the imperial power. To him Ithacius turned, and induced him to order Instantius and Priscillian

Maximus, 383.

---

[1] *Tract.* I. p. 22; II. p. 39.

[2] Orosii *Commonit.* c. 2; Leo, *Epist.* 93 *ad Turribium.* Sulpicius (*Chron.* II. 46) supposes that he imbibed Gnosticism from Marcus, an Egyptian Gnostic, through his teacher Elpidius. The teaching of Basilides seems to have reached Spain (Baur, *Kirchen-Gesch.* II. 74). Priscillian and his followers highly valued an apocryphal book called *Memoria Apostolorum.* Orosius, *Commonit.* c. 2, p. 154.

[3] Orosius, *Commonit.* c. 2; Leo *ad Turrib.* Pref. and cc. 11 and 12.

[4] Sulpic. Sev. *Chron.* II. 47, § 6.

[5] *Ib.* II. 48. Priscillian's appeal to Damasus forms *Tractatus* II. in Schepss' edn.

[6] Sulpic. Sev. u. s. 48, §§ 5, 6.

Synod at Bordeaux.

to be brought before a synod at Bordeaux. Instantius was deposed from his bishopric, while Priscillian, refusing to admit the authority of the council, appealed to the usurping emperor[1]. He deputed Evodius, a man of harsh and stern character, to hold the trial, at which Ithacius, who had so keen a scent for heresy that he discovered it even in the saintly Martin of Tours, appeared as his accuser. 385 Evodius found the accused guilty of sorcery[2], and the emperor sentenced him to death, together with some of his followers. Instantius was banished to the Scilly islands. The remains of those who were put to death were carried to Spain, where the devotees who had before honoured Priscillian as a saint now reverenced him as a martyr[3].

The State and Heresy.

The charge on which Priscillian was condemned was fairly within the cognizance of an imperial tribunal, but as everyone knew that he had in fact suffered as a heretic, many of the best men of the time were offended that spiritual error should have been punished by a civil court, and that even to the shedding of blood. Martin of Tours remonstrated in the most energetic manner both with Maximus and with Ithacius[4], and public feeling was so strong against the latter that he was deposed from his see. Idacius quitted his by voluntary resignation. The whole proceeding had in the opinion of a contemporary, Sulpicius Severus[5], a very unfortunate effect upon the Church. Priscillian and his companions head the long and dreary list of those who have suffered for their opinions at the hands of Christians the same pains and penalties which Christians had once endured at the hands of pagans.

VI. *Pelagianism*[6].

Free-will and Predestination not

The relation of man's will to God's will is a mystery which has exercised the wit of man in almost all ages, though it did not become the occasion of discussion and defined in Early Church.

---

[1] Sulpic. Sev. u. s. 49.

[2] "Maleficii." Sulpicius (*Chron.* II. 50) states that he did not deny "obscenis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium fœminarum egisse conventus nudumque orare solitum."

[3] Sulpic. Sev. u. s. 51 § 7.

[4] *Ib.* 50 § 5.

[5] *Ib.* 51, §§ 5, 6.

[6] The sources for the Pelagian controversy are Pelagius's writings, *Expositiones in Epistt. Pauli*, *Epist. ad Demetriadem*, and *Libel-*

Augustin's influence.

division in the Church until the beginning of the fifth century. Up to that time theologians and simple Christians had alike been contented to believe that both human effort and divine grace were necessary for the work of salvation, without attempting to allot to each its exact influence. This acquiescence was brought to an end by St Augustin. He, a man of warm feeling and vivid imagination, supremely conscious of the divine mercy by which he had been brought from darkness to light, eminently capable of giving an intellectual form to his convictions and of stating a belief in a definite proposition, gave in his teaching so much weight to the grace of God in leading us to good, that he left, or seemed to leave, nothing to the will of man. The great problem of grace and free-will had not indeed presented itself to him in the early days after his conversion with the force with which it came upon him in later life; but before he wrote his *Confessions* he had reached—perhaps through his Neo-Platonic studies—the conclusion that as all good comes from God, from Him comes even the gift of faith, the beginning of good in man[1]. His opinions were developed and defined in the course of controversy, but they did not originate in it.

Pelagius in Rome, c. 405.

It was probably about the year 405 that Pelagius, a British monk of ascetic life, began at Rome to exhort men to leave the worldly and frivolous life which too many of them led. Often he received the reply, "it is too hard for us; we cannot do it; we are but men; sinful flesh doth

---

lus Fidei ad Innocentium; all in Hieronymi *Opera*, tom. xi. (ed. Vallarsi); Augustin's Antipelagian treatises in vol. x. of the Benedictine edn., the principal of which have been published at Oxford in one vol. edited by W. Bright; Jerome's *Epist. ad Ctesiphontem* and *Dialogi c. Pelag.* in vol. 2 of *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi; P. Orosius, *Liber Apologeticus* (*Opera*, p. 601 ff. ed. Zangemeister); Marius Mercator, *Commonitorium adv. Hæres. Pelagii et Cælestii* and *Commonit. super Nomine Cælestii* (*Opera*, ed. Baluze, pp. 1 ff. and 132 ff.); Acts of Councils relating to Pelagianism.—There are learned works on Pelagianism by G. J. Voss (*Hist. de Controvers. Pelag.*) H. Noris (*Hist. Pelagiana*), C. F. W. Walch (*Ketzerhistorie*, iv. and v.), F. Wiggers (*Pragm. Darstellung des Augustinismus u. Pelag.*), Wörter (*Der Pelagianismus*), Klasen (*Die innere Entwickelung des Pelagianismus*), and J. L. Jacobi (*Die Lehre des Pelagius*). The relation of Augustin to Pelagianism is well described by J. B. Mozley (*The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*). Much valuable matter is found in Jean Garnier's editions of Julian of Eclanum and Marius Mercator.

[1] *De Prædestinatione* 7; *De Dono Persev.* 55; *Contra Julianum* vi. 39.

grossly close us in[1]." He heard too Augustin's famous words repeated—"Grant what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt[2]"—and was offended thereat[3]. This view seemed to him to leave nothing for man to do; obedience became almost mechanical. *Principles at stake.* Here two great principles are found opposed. St Augustin's was, in the main, that of St Paul, that not he himself lived, but Christ lived in him; but his early Manichæan training had given his mind a bias which led him to regard man too much as the sport of hostile forces, a good and an evil. Pelagius's view of life tended to approximate to that of the old pagan philosophers, especially to that of the Stoics. In ancient philosophic systems man is always regarded as the master of his own destiny; it is always presumed that if he sees the right he will pursue it; no account is taken of the weakness which arises from the defects of human nature. And this contrast of principles was no doubt heightened by the character of those who were the most prominent disputants. St Augustin was eager and earnest, sympathizing keenly with the weakness and the struggles of the multitude who sought his counsel. *His character.* Pelagius was a monk. So far as we can gather from our imperfect sources, he was a man of calm temperament to whom the great struggle of the spirit against the flesh was comparatively unknown. He was anxious to promote virtuous living, to rouse an enervated generation to the need of strenuous effort and self-denial, to forward the half-Stoical teaching which had unconsciously influenced so many educated Christians. He had studied Greek theology to an extent very unusual in the West, and is thought to have derived some of his opinions from Theodore of Mopsuestia. *Cælestius.* Cælestius, whom we constantly find by the side of Pelagius, and who probably exaggerated his opinions, had been an advocate in Rome until he was converted by Pelagius. Both Pelagius and Cælestius were laymen when they first become known to us.

When Pelagius controverted St Augustin's opinions, his opposition does not seem to have occasioned any excitement at Rome. He appears to have been cautious and circumspect; but his pupil Cælestius was younger, bolder,

---

[1] *Epist. ad Demetriadem*, c. 3.

[2] Augustin, *Confessiones*, x. 29.

[3] *De Dono Persev.* 53.

Opinions of Cælestius.

No heritage of sin.

full of the zeal of a new convert, and not afraid of the logical consequences of his principles. In him appears a new feature of the great controversy. He was understood to deny the transmission of Adam's sin to his descendants, and from this to draw the inference that in the baptism of infants there is no remission of sins[1]. About the year 411 we find both Pelagius and Cælestius in Africa. Pelagius, who was no lover of strife, seems to have left that province when he found that his presence there occasioned dissension, but Cælestius sought to be appointed a presbyter in Carthage. There in the year 412 Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, before a synod over which the bishop of Carthage presided, charged him with holding the following erroneous opinions[2]. That Adam was created mortal, and would have died even if he had not sinned; that the sin of Adam injured himself alone, and not mankind; that new-born children are in the same state of innocency in which Adam was before his fall; that all do not die through the death or fall of Adam, nor through the Resurrection of Christ shall all rise; that the Kingdom of Heaven may be attained through the Law as well as through the Gospel; that even before the coming of the Lord a man might live without sin, if he would. Cælestius, admitted to plead his own cause, declared that he held that infants ought to be baptized. The transmission of Adam's sin he considered an open question, since he had heard Catholics both affirm and deny it. In the end he was excommunicated by the council, and passed over to Ephesus, whence, after becoming a presbyter, he betook himself to Constantinople.

Pelagius in Africa, c. 411.

Council at Carthage, 413.

Cælestius in Constantinople.

Pelagius meantime had gone into Palestine, whence he wrote a conciliatory letter to Augustin, who replied, if with considerable reserve, at any rate amicably[3]. He also attempted to become friendly with Jerome; but as he had already been admitted to the friendship of John of Jerusalem, with whom Jerome had a quarrel, he found there no favour. Jerome wrote fiercely against him[4], connecting him—probably not unjustly—with the already suspected

---

[1] Augustin, *De Peccatorum Meritis*, III. 12.

[2] Augustin, *De Peccato Orig.* II. 2 ff.; in Hardouin *Conc.* I. 1201.

[3] Augustin, *De Gestis Pelagii*, c. 52.

[4] *Epist.* 133 *ad Ctesiphontem*, and *Dialogi c. Pelagium.*

Origen. A statement of his own opinions, which Cælestius had circulated, and which became widely known, also tended to bring the more cautious Pelagius into ill repute. Orosius, the well-known pupil and friend of Augustin, at last brought it to pass that John cited Pelagius to answer for himself before a meeting of the presbytery of Jerusalem. Before this assembly Pelagius declared that he believed a sinless life to be impossible without the grace of God, and was thereupon acquitted[1]. Orosius had to speak through an interpreter, and probably failed to make his audience understand the importance of a speculation altogether unfamiliar to them. But the opponents of Pelagius did not rest. In December of the same year they brought his doctrines before a Palestinian synod at Diospolis[2], the ancient Lydda. He did not deny that he held the opinions attributed to him, but was able so to explain them that the assembled prelates, fourteen in number, declared his orthodoxy unimpeachable. The propositions of Cælestius which had been condemned at Carthage were then produced, and Pelagius was asked whether he assented to them. Some of them he expressly rejected; as to others, he held that he ought not to be questioned, since the sayings were none of his; but he nevertheless anathematized those who held them. The synod thereupon decided that he was a true Catholic, and worthy of admission to communion[3]. His mode of thought was in fact much more consonant than St Augustin's with that prevailing in the East.

Meeting at Jerusalem, 415.

Synod at Diospolis, 415.

Pelagius acquitted.

But in Africa the decisions of Diospolis were very far from satisfactory. In the year 416 synods assembled at Carthage and at Milevis; at Milevis Augustin was present. Both these assemblies condemned Pelagius, and appealed for support to Innocent, bishop of Rome[4]. He received the appeal with delight, regarding it as an acknowledgement that nothing could be finally concluded by a provincial synod without the assent of the see of Rome, and at once decided that Pelagius and Cælestius should be

Synods of Carthage and Milevis, 416.

---

[1] Orosius himself wrote an account of these transactions in his *Liber Apologeticus* (*Opera*, ed. Zangemeister, 603 ff.); Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 1207.

[2] Hardouin I. 1209. Short account in Augustin, *De Pecc. Orig.* II. 11.

[3] Augustin, *De Gestis Pelagii*, § 44.

[4] The synodical epistles in Augustin, *Epistt.* 175, 176.

excommunicated until they had extricated themselves from the snare of the devil[1].

Upon this Pelagius sent to Rome his ably drawn Confession of Faith[2], with a treatise in defence of it[3]. Some of the things laid to his charge he declared to be inventions of the enemy, others he explained away; but he adhered to his main proposition, that all men had received from God such a power of will as to enable them to perform good works, while Christians had special means of grace. This document never came into the hands of Innocent; he was dead before it reached Rome. It was received by his successor Zosimus. At the same time Cælestius softened some of his more offensive propositions, especially with regard to infant baptism[4], and the result was that Zosimus at a Roman synod restored both him and Pelagius to communion, and blamed the Africans for their too hasty zeal[5]. In Carthage there was great indignation, and a synod convened to consider the matter refused to repeal the former decision[6]. This energetic resistance daunted the pope, who now wrote that the Africans had misunderstood him, if they supposed that he had come to a final decision in the matter of Cælestius; the case was still undecided[7]. Immediately on the receipt of this epistle a council was held, attended by more than two hundred bishops from all the provinces of Africa, at which not only was Pelagianism condemned in the most direct and unambiguous terms, but appeals to Rome were forbidden on pain of excommunication[8]. A fresh person now appeared on the scene; the emperor put forth a rescript condemning the new heretics[9]. Zosimus thereupon faced about. He joined in the excommunication of Pelagius and Cælestius, having discovered that such matters as grace, free-will, and original sin were of the essence of the Faith, and required all bishops to subscribe his circular letter[10] of condemnation. Eighteen refused,

Zosimus Pope, 417.

Council at Carthage, 418.

---

[1] Innocentii *Epistt.* 30—33; Augustini *Epistt.* 181—184.

[2] In Hahn's *Bibliothek*, § 133.

[3] Fragments of this are found in Augustin, *De Gratia Christi* and *De Pecc. Orig.*

[4] Fragment of his *Libellus* in Aug. *De Pecc. Orig.* 5 ff.

[5] Zosimi *Epistt.* 3, 4.

[6] Prosper, *c. Collatorem* 5.

[7] Zosimi *Epist.* 15.

[8] Canons with those of Milevis, Hardouin I. 1217.

[9] In Hardouin I. 1229.

[10] Epistola tractoria; fragments in Augustin x. *App.* p. 108 (ed.

among them a very notable person, Julian of Eclanum. He was more vigorous and downright than the cautious Pelagius and more wary than the fiery Cælestius[1]. He had considerable dialectic power, and was never weary of discussing and defining. This prelate wrote in the name of the eighteen dissenting bishops two very frank letters to the pope, not however maintaining all the propositions of Cælestius. From this time Julian becomes a prominent figure. St Augustin, who was a friend of Julian's family, replied to his letters with gentleness and moderation. But Julian—a rash youth, as St Augustin calls him—had no reverence for the greatest man in Christendom; he drew remorselessly all the logical consequences of his doctrines, and pointed out the Manichæan mode of thought which was latent in them. Augustin protested that he had no conscious leaning to Manichæism, but it was not easy to shew that no relics of his Manichæan training lingered in his mind. From this arose a controversy which lasted as long as Augustin lived, and in the stress of which he developed the decidedly predestinarian views which are found in his later treatises[2].

Cælestius at Rome, 424.

The end of Pelagius is obscure; he simply vanishes from history. The unwearied Cælestius, though banished from Italy, was able to induce pope Cælestinus to investigate the matter afresh. By this however he gained nothing, and departed to Constantinople, which, as Julian and other friends also settled there, became the headquarters of the Pelagian camp. The friendship which the patriarch Nestorius shewed them had important consequences; on the one hand it drew on Nestorius the displeasure of the pope, on the other it brought upon the Pelagians the suspicion of Nestorianism. It was perhaps in consequence of this supposed connexion that the followers of Nestorius and of Cælestius were condemned together at the Council of Ephesus[3] in 431. In

---

Bened.). Tillemont (xiii. 738 ff.) has shewn that this letter was not written *before* the council and the Imperial Rescript. The change of front at Rome is alluded to by Augustin, *C. duas Epistt. Pelag.* ii. 3.

[1] Julian's statement of his belief is given in Hahn's *Bibliothek*, § 135, p. 219.

[2] This controversy brought out Augustin's *C. duas Epistt. Pelag.*, *De Nuptiis*, etc., *Libb. vi c. Julianum*, and *Opus Imperfectum c. Jul.*, on which he was working at the time of his death.

[3] Canon 4, in Hardouin i. 1623.

spite however of this mention in an Œcumenical Council, there were probably few theologians in the East who had studied Pelagianism, and still fewer who sided with Augustin.

Contrast of Pelagianism and Augustinism.

The positions of the Pelagians which were condemned were, in brief, (1) that the Grace of God is not absolutely necessary for every man, whether before or after baptism, in order to his eternal salvation; and (2) that there is no hereditary transmission of the sin of Adam, and therefore that in the baptism of infants there is not, strictly, any remission of sins. On the other hand, the doctrine of St Augustin was, that mankind has become through the fall of Adam a mass of sin, so that a man cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength, to faith and calling upon God; and that we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God through Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will. We need for our salvation, to use the common terms, grace prevenient and grace coöperant. This grace is freely given, not for any merit in them, to a certain fixed number of persons who are called, chosen, justified, sanctified, and brought to everlasting life, in accordance with God's eternal decree. In baptism, the "laver of regeneration," the taint of original sin is washed away, but the capacity for actual sin remains. Renewal is still needed.

Second stage of Pelagianism.

Pelagianism was condemned, but Augustinism was not received as the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The doctrine of predestination, of irresistible grace given to a limited number, seemed to many something new and startling. Even in the lifetime of Augustin, the opposition to his innovation, as many thought it, made itself felt. Was then the human will, it was asked, altogether inoperative in the work of salvation? Were good works altogether superfluous? Was it possible for men to sit with their hands in their laps, making no effort to obey their Lord's commands, and yet be saved? The monks of Hadrametum in North Africa, in particular, seem to have held that such was St Augustin's teaching, and to have drawn the inference that it was useless to attempt the conversion of a sinner, except by intercessory prayer.

Monks at Hadrametum.

Augustin writes to them.

Augustin, hearing of their perversion, as he deemed it, of his words, wrote to them[1] explaining that he was by no means indifferent as to the life of believers; that a child of God must feel himself impelled by the Holy Spirit to do right; that men who have not such grace ought to pray that they may receive it; but he still maintained that the bestowal of such grace depends wholly upon God's eternal decree.

Augustin dies, 430.

The opposition to Prædestinarianism[4].

Cassian and Vincentius.

Soon afterwards, Prosper and other friends[2] informed him that in Marseilles, and elsewhere in Southern Gaul, the doctrine of irresistible grace was not accepted, because it seemed to leave no room for exhortations to Christian life. Augustin replied[3] in such a way as to strengthen the hands of his friends, while he gave fresh offence to his opponents. Soon afterwards he died, leaving disciples to carry on the war who resembled their master rather in zeal than in ability. The monks of Southern Gaul now broke out into more open opposition; it is easy to understand how St Augustin's doctrine presented itself to ascetics trained mainly under Greek influence. Among these the two most distinguished were John Cassian, the father of South-Gallican monasticism, and Vincentius of Lerins, a monastery on an island not far from Antibes. The former had already stated his views on absolute predestination and the doctrines which follow from it. He was offended at unconditional predestination, limited grace, and the bondage of the human will.

Cassian's tenets.

The grace of God is, he said, indispensably necessary to our salvation. Still, the good will, good thoughts, right belief which prepare for the reception of the grace of God are attainable by man. Grace is necessary for the perfecting, but not for the beginning of our faith. It is only those who strive to enter in who are helped by grace[5]. It works with man's will. It is only exceptionally that God's grace goes before, occasioning the first exertion of man's will, and even then it is not irresistible. It is a fundamental truth that God wills the salvation of all men, and not of a certain limited number only. As to the Fall, he taught that the sin of Adam and Eve has corrupted the whole race and occasioned an irresistible propensity to sin. Still, man's nature is not so wholly corrupt that it retains no capacity for good[1]. In short, Cassian was more alive than most of his contemporaries to the truth that God's judgments are far above out of our sight, and that the mystery of the coexistence of man's free-will and God's omnipotence cannot be explained by a sharply defined theory. Perhaps in his anxiety to avoid fatalism he somewhat tended towards justification by our own works.

---

[1] The treatise *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio.*

[2] Aug. *Epistt.* 225, 226.

[3] In the treatises *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ.*

[4] Those who joined this opposition are commonly called in modern books Semi-Pelagians. As however this term does not occur in any contemporary, or nearly contemporary, document, and does not fairly describe their position, it seemed best to avoid it.

[5] "Ut dicimus conatus humanos adprehendere [perfectionem] per se ipsos non posse sine adjutorio Dei, ita pronuntiamus laborantibus tantum et desudantibus misericordiam Dei gratiamque conferri." *Instit.* xii. 14.

Vincentius's Commonitorium, c. 434.

Vincentius, in a treatise which is now probably the best known of all the writings of that age, discussed the whole question of the test of heresy. His general teaching may be summed up in the words—innovation is heresy. Innovators may quote Scripture to their purpose, but if their opinions differ from those of the Fathers who have lived holily, wisely, and consistently in the faith and communion of the Catholic Church, they are heretics. Against such a consent no holy and learned man, bishop, confessor, or martyr though he be, is to be listened to for an instant. And he condemns under his canon those who declare that in their society there is so great, so special, so personal an influx of the grace of God, that without toil, without zeal, without earnestness, though they neither ask nor seek nor knock, their votaries are held up by angels so that they dash not their foot against a stone. The reference to some who held a perversion of Augustinian theology is manifest, but it is also tolerably clear that Vincentius refers to a sect[2], and not to those doctors within the Church who defended the views of Augustin.

---

[1] "Non amisisse humanum genus post prævaricationem Adæ scientiam boni etiam apostoli sententia evidentissime declaratur." *Collatio* xii. 12 § 3.

[2] When he speaks (c. 37, al. 26) of persons who state that "in ecclesia sua, id est, in communionis suæ conventiculo," such gifts are given, he seems to refer to some sectarian body, like those which have been common enough in recent times, all the members of which were supposed to be "saved."

CHAP. XI.

Prosper of Aquitaine.

The De Vocatione Gentium.

"Prædestinatus," c. 445?

Faustus of Riez, d. c. 494.

Synod at Arles, c. 475.

After the death of Augustin his friend Prosper of Aquitaine became the principal champion of Augustinism[1]. He admitted that his master had spoken somewhat harshly[2] when he said that God did not will the salvation of all men; and he represented that predestination was to life and not to death, that God's choice was not capricious, but just and righteous. He failed to convince the monks, but he succeeded in obtaining a letter from pope Cælestinus[3], in which the opponents of Augustinism were blamed, while little was said as to the main points in dispute. After this Prosper again replied to Cassian, maintaining with considerable ability his Augustinian views, and then retired from the conflict. The unknown writer of the treatise on the Calling of the Gentiles[4] sought to reconcile the proposition, that God wills that all men should be saved, with the fact that all men are not saved. The book shews at any rate that some of the Augustinians were conscious of the difficulty of their position, and it was no doubt written in the interests of peace. On the other hand, there appeared, probably about the year 445, a book called 'Prædestinatus'[5], in which a forged Augustinian treatise, setting forth fatalist doctrine in a form which no genuine Augustinian would recognise, was criticised from a Pelagian point of view. What was the effect of this unprincipled work we have no means of knowing; but we know that the monks of Southern Gaul held their ground, and produced in Faustus bishop of Riez their ablest champion. This able and excellent prelate, who took part in all the controversies of his time, had been abbot of Lerins, and in his see never forgot his love for the monastic life. He opposed both the teaching of the Pelagians, and the immoral doctrine (as he held it to be) of absolute predestination and the utter annihilation of the human will. It was no doubt under his influence that a synod at Arles[6], about the year 475, and another at Lyons, condemned the predestinarian error; and it was to defend their decision that he wrote his treatise on Grace and Freewill[1]. His contention is that, granting that man since the Fall is unable to attain salvation by his own power, he is still capable of resisting or yielding to the Grace of God. Though it be true that without grace man cannot turn to God, still grace will be given through means, such as preaching and the threatening of the law. To those who, like the monks, prided themselves on their works, he says, what have we that we have not received?

---

[1] He wrote *Pro Augustino responsiones ad Capitula objectionum Gallorum calumniantium; Responsiones . . ad capit. Objectionum Vincentiarum;* and other works.

[2] "Durius," *Resp. ad Capit. Gall.*, quoted by Harnack, *D.-G.* III. 223.

[3] *Epist.* 21.

[4] In Prosper's *Works*, p. 847, ed. Paris 1711. Also in Leo's Works, ii. 167 ff. (ed. Ballerini).

[5] First brought to light in 1643; in Galland, *Biblioth. Patr.* x. 357 ff.

[6] Hardouin II. 805 ff.

The Scythian Monks.

519.

While in Gaul the middle-party, with the powerful aid of Faustus, held its own, in Africa the tradition of Augustin was still lively, and in Rome his name at least carried weight. In the early years of the fifth century certain Scythian monks, who had already fomented dissension in Constantinople, mingled in the fray in the West. Their leader was Maxentius. These monks handed to the legate of pope Hormisdas in Constantinople a statement of their belief, in which they emphatically rejected the views of those—Faustus of Riez is specially censured—who denied the absolute necessity of divine grace to begin the work of salvation, and said that it is for man to will, for God to finish the work. Four of their number journeyed to Rome, where they found no favour. Their statement however found much acceptance among the African bishops who, under pressure of the Vandal invasion of Africa, had found refuge in Sardinia, especially with Fulgentius of Ruspe, their champion, a man of considerable intellectual power. He wrote not only against Pelagius but against Faustus, whom, without naming, he accused of depreciating God's grace in comparison with man's powers. When Possessor, an African bishop, wrote to Hormisdas, asking his judgment on the matters stirred by the Scythian monks, the pope replied with very great caution, referring to Augustin as an exponent of the belief of the Roman Church in regard to grace and freewill[2]. His caution brought out a reply

Africans in Sardinia.

Fulgentius, d. 533.

Possessor, 520.

---

[1] His principal works are in *Bibliotheca Max. Patrum.* viii. 523 ff. *Epist. ad Lucidum* in Hardouin II. 809.

[2] Hardouin II. 1038.

Maxentius.

from Maxentius[1] which was at any rate sufficiently outspoken; if, he said, the writings of Augustin were to be taken as a standard, Faustus was beyond all doubt a heretic. Fulgentius continued the controversy against the middle-party, in certain treatises in which, while strongly maintaining Augustinian predestination, he attempted to shew that it did not involve predestination to sin. The African bishops also from their Sardinian exile sent a declaration[2] to Constantinople, in which they directed attention to Hormisdas's acceptance of Augustin as a standard, and drew the inference that Faustus, so far as he differed from him, must be a heretic. Gradually even in Gaul itself, the very focus of the opposition, there arose a reaction in favour of Augustinism, the leaders of which were Avitus of Vienne and Cæsarius of Arles, the latter of whom was favoured by pope Felix IV. In the year 529, on the occasion of the consecration of a church, a council was held at Orange[3] in the province of Arles, over which Cæsarius presided as metropolitan. The conclusions were subscribed by fourteen bishops and eight men of illustrious[4] rank, including Liberius, the prefect of the Gauls and founder of the church. These canons, which follow the general lines of a document sent down from Rome, contain an unambiguous acceptance of the Augustinian doctrine of original sin and of the impotence of man's will to turn to good, so that faith itself is a gift of grace; but they do not admit a predestination to evil; those who do evil do it of their own free will[5]. And they lay down that all baptized persons receive through Christ such a gift of grace that they may, if they will, fulfil all the conditions necessary for salvation[6]. These conclusions were confirmed by the Roman bishop, Boniface II. A council at Valence[7], which took place about the same time, and was attended not only by the bishops of the province of Vienne, but by representatives of the province of Arles,

c. 521.

Council of Orange, 529.

Council at Valence.

---

[1] *Responsio ad Epist. Hormisdae Papæ*, in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* IX. 570; Migne's *Patrol.*, Ser. Gr. 86, p. 93.

[2] In Hardouin II. 1055 ff.

[3] Hardouin II. 1097.

[4] The "illustrious" were Roman officials of the highest rank (Gibbon, c. 17).

[5] *Can.* 23.

[6] *Can.* 25.

[7] Hardouin II. 1103.

made decrees in a similar sense. Pelagianism was thought to be at an end.

General conclusions.

The Pelagian controversy constitutes an epoch in the history of dogma. Hitherto dogmatic contests had been almost wholly about the object of Christian faith, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The opinions of Pelagius were in fact not recognised at first as dogmatic, either by himself or by others[1]; they belonged (it was thought) to that region of theological opinion within which men may lawfully differ. And the language used on both sides was full of unobserved ambiguities. "Liberty" was sometimes taken to mean the power of willing freely, sometimes to mean the power of acting as one wills. It is commonly used to designate freedom from external coercion, but St Augustin uses it to designate freedom from the power of sin. The time had not yet come for men to recognise an "antinomy of reason"; to admit that the laws of the human mind may force us to acknowledge truths which are to our limited faculties incompatible. Since the existence of antinomies has been admitted, it has come to be felt by the thoughtful everywhere, that they who discuss "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," will find "no end, in wandering mazes lost[2]." The extreme predestinarian views have consequently come to be merely opinions of sects and parties.

Augustin's views did not prevail.

Even the immense authority of St Augustin could not induce men to accept frankly all the consequences which were drawn from his theory of man's lost and ruined condition. His views in their origin did not satisfy the rule of Vincentius; they had not been accepted at all times by all men in all places; and in fact they never became Catholic. We see plainly enough in the works of Gregory the Great that he labours in vain to adopt Augustin's views in their integrity; almost in spite of himself, he addresses men as if they were free to receive and obey his exhortations, and so to attain salvation[3].

---

[1] See the Creed of Cælestius, in Hahn's *Bibliothek*, § 134; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, III. 153, 161.

[2] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 560.

[3] See F. C. Baur, K.-G. II. 215 f.

CHAPTER XII.

DISCIPLINE AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. XII.

LAW AND SOCIETY. *Code of Morality.*

1. IT has already been observed[1] that the precepts of Christian morality tended to become a code of positive law[2], having its own interpreters in the rulers of the Church. This tendency becomes more prominent in the fourth and following centuries. Men came to look more and more to the authority of the Church to determine both the special acts and the general conduct which were to be required of Christians. Hence there arose a more systematic treatment of moral questions and a more regular method of dealing with sin and disorder.

Formation of Church Law.

In the early part of the period of which we are treating each province had its own code and customs, but local peculiarities were gradually eliminated, and the whole Church within the empire came to have one law. A kind of public opinion was formed on the matter before any actual codification took place. It was generally agreed that the canons of œcumenical synods and certain imperial decrees accepted by the Church were of universal obligation; but there were some synods, of too much importance to be regarded as simply provincial and yet scarcely universal, about the canons of which there was doubt. Several of these in course of time came to be

---

[1] P. 147.

[2] See p. 148, note 5; and add G. et H. Justelli *Bibliotheca Juris Canon. Vet.*; J. Pitra *Juris Eccl. Græcorum Hist et Monumenta*; F. Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen... des Canon. Rechts in Abendlande*; F. Walter *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, Book II.

Code of Theodosius, 438, of Justinian, 534. Syntagma of Joannes Scholasticus, c. 570.

recognised as everywhere valid. The codes of Theodosius and of Justinian contained many provisions relating to matters ecclesiastical, and it was perhaps the example of the imperial codification which induced Joannes Scholasticus, originally a lawyer, afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, about the year 570 to arrange systematically the whole ecclesiastical law of the Eastern Church[1]. This became the standard book of reference and manual of instruction for Oriental students. He also added to his collection of canons the imperial laws relating to the several matters treated of in the canons. This work, called the Nomocanon, was composed apparently within the year after Justinian's death[2]. A later hand added four laws of Heraclius relating to matters ecclesiastical.

Nomocanon.

Rome.

The Roman Church at the beginning of the fifth century recognized only the canons of Nicæa, under which name however those of Sardica were included, as of universal obligation[3]. Others, said Innocent I., the Church does not accept. But in the latter half of the same century we find extant a Latin translation of a Greek collection of canons[4]. The imperfection and obscurity of this translation however induced Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk who understood both Greek and Latin, to undertake a new edition, which probably appeared in the time of pope Symmachus, between the years 498 and 514[5]. The first part of this collection contains a careful translation of those canons which were generally acknowledged by the Greeks, together with the Latin canons of Sardica, and the code which was sanctioned by a council at Carthage in the year 419 for the use of the African Church. The second part contains the decretals of the popes, so far as they could then be discovered in Rome, from Siricius, who became pope in 385, to Anastasius, who died in 497. These decretals are for the most part letters giving opinions on cases submitted by distant

Dionysius Exiguus, 498—514.

---

[1] Printed in Justelli *Bibliotheca*, II. 499 ff. Compare Assemani *Bibliotheca*, III. 354 ff.

[2] Zachariae *Hist. Juris Græco-Rom.* § 22, nn. 3, 4, 7; Heimbach Ἀνέκδοτα, I. p. xliv. ff.

[3] See the Ballerini in Galland *De Vetustis Canonum Collectionibus*, I. 303 ff.

[4] Justelli *Bibliotheca* I. 275 ff.; also in Leonis M. *Opera*, ed. Ballerini, III. 473 ff., and Mansi *Conc.* VI. 1005 ff.

[5] Ed. F. Pithoeus (Paris, 1687); Justelli *Biblioth.* I. 97 ff.; cf. Ballerini in Leonis *Opera* III. 174.

authorities. This Code of Dionysius came to be received in Rome and in the West generally as having the authority of law, and was completed by the addition from time to time of later documents. A collection of canons for the use of the Spanish Church was made probably in the first half of the seventh century by Isidore of Seville[1]. This contains in its first division, together with the greater part of the current Greek Church-law, certain canons of Spanish and of Gallican councils; in the second division the decretals of the Dionysian Code, with the addition of certain letters of the popes relating to Spanish and Gallican affairs. The "Breviarium" drawn up by Fulgentius Ferrandus[2], a deacon of Carthage, about the year 547, independently of the Dionysian Code, seems to have attained less vogue.

Isidorian Collection, c. 634.

Fulgentii Breviarium, c. 547.

Penitential System.

Another source of Church-law was the penitential system, the beginnings of which we have already seen[3]. They who sinned against the law of God were at once punished and purified by passing through a course of humiliation and mortification before they could be readmitted to the full privileges of the faithful. This course was called by the general name of penitence or penance, and those who were undergoing it were penitents. This system brought with it the necessity of instruction in the application of appropriate remedies; for penalties might vary from a short period of fasting or abstinence to a sentence which hardly permitted the offender to receive the sacrament on his death-bed. Many directions on these matters are given in the canons of councils; but instructions were also issued from time to time by distinguished ecclesiastics with a view of securing uniformity in the administration of penitential discipline. Such documents, for instance, as the epistles of St Basil and his brother Gregory of Nyssa on the subject of penitence were held in such respect as to have almost the force of law. That of St Gregory[4] is rather a treatise on what we may call the psychology of sin than an attempt to assign special penalties to special sins; while

Canonical Epistles.

---

[1] *Codex Canonum Eccl. Hispaniæ* (Madrid, 1808); Galland *Biblioth.* I. 500 ff.

[2] Justelli *Biblioth.* I. 456 ff.

[3] P. 147.

[4] In Beveridge's *Synodicon,* II. 151 ff.

those of Basil[1], dealing mainly with the sins of idolatry, murder, and fornication, allot to each form of sin its appropriate punishment. The latter had great influence in the East, and received synodical sanction at the Trullan council[2] in 692. In the West, the papal decretals sometimes deal, though not systematically, with sins for which penitence is prescribed. Fragments still exist of British and Irish penitentials of great antiquity, mainly devoted to the enforcement of purity of life and the discharge of Christian duty, and to the extirpation of the ferocious and licentious passions of the old heathen life. Sixteen canons are extant of the book of St David of Menevia[3]—now called from him St David's—and similar canons of councils held under the same bishop, which imply a rude and impure state of life among those for whom they were intended. Another ancient penitential, bearing the name of Vinniaus or Finian[4], and probably contemporary, or nearly so, with St David's, enumerates the principal sins of clergy and laity, with their appropriate penalties. Of about the same date is the *Prefatio Gildæ de Penitentia*[5], which gives a more detailed account of the several penances than the other early books. Among the earliest existing penitentials are those of Ireland[6], some possibly drawn up by, or under the influence of, St Patrick himself. In these appears the system of compounding for sins by the surrender of money or other worldly goods, which was afterwards conspicuous both in the ecclesiastical and the civil codes of the Northern nations of Europe. The numerous and interesting English Penitentials do not fall within the chronological limits of this work.

British Penitentials.

St David's.

Vinniaus.

Gildas.

Irish Penitentials.

In the fourth and fifth centuries a great change crept over the whole penitential system. The old rule, that an excommunicated person could only once in his lifetime be re-admitted to the Church, after confession and penance, fell

Change in Penitential System.

---

[1] The three *Canonical Letters to Amphilochius* (in *Synodicon*, II. 47 ff.). These letters are not however quoted by any writer before Joannes Scholasticus in the sixth century, and are thought by Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, V. 3, 366 ff.), following Molkenbuhr, to be spurious.

[2] Canon 2.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Documents*, I. 118 ff.

[4] Wasserschleben *Bussordnungen*, 108 ff.

[5] *Councils and Documents*, I. 113 ff.

[6] *Bussordnungen*, 136 ff.

into disuse. The same person was more than once admitted to the ranks of penitents and to the hope of restoration. It was one of the charges made against Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak[1], that he had said, "if thou sinnest again, again repent; as often as thou sinnest, come to me and I will heal thee." In the days immediately following the Decian persecution, when large numbers of the lapsed flocked to obtain absolution from the Church, so that their public confessions became a scandal, a discreet presbyter was chosen to decide, after private hearing, what penance the offenders should undergo before admission to communion[2]. Such a penitentiary presbyter was generally appointed in the several Churches until Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople in 391 abrogated the office in his own Church, in consequence of a scandal which had arisen, and many other bishops followed his example. Socrates[3] seems to imply that after this it was left to each man's conscience to decide whether he was worthy to approach the mysteries. In Rome, pope Simplicius appointed a penitentiary in the latter part of the fifth century. This private confession was the natural result of the extension of Christianity to society in general. Sins which might be confessed to a small assembly of friends bound together by the most intimate union of thought and feeling could hardly be uttered before a large congregation of comparatively indifferent persons. Moreover, some of the sins which excluded the sinner from communion were also crimes which might bring him under the cognizance of the law of the land, and some sins, as adultery, involved others besides the person confessing.

Penitentiary at Rome, c. 470.

Atonement by Prayer.

Augustin[4] contemplates the daily prayer as sufficient atonement for the little sins which we inevitably commit in daily life, while the more deadly sins, which separate men from the Body of Christ, require public and formal penance. These more deadly sins are those against the majesty of God Himself, as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy and sorcery; or actual offences against one's neighbour, as murder, adultery, theft and perjury, and openly expressed hatred[1]. No layman who had done penance could ever be admitted to the ranks of the clergy, and no cleric could be admitted to penance without previous deposition from his office[2]. The general principle which Augustin[3] laid down, that secret sins might be confessed secretly, while open sins must be confessed openly, was probably largely adopted by bishops in their penitential discipline. Leo the Great[4], however, condemned in vigorous language the conduct of those bishops who compelled penitents to read aloud in the church a complete list of their sins, holding that it was sufficient for the relief of the conscience if men confessed their sin to the priests alone, and that this course was also desirable for the avoiding of scandal. From this time, probably, public confession of sin became rare.

---

[1] Hardouin I. 1041.

[2] Sozomen VII. 16.

[3] *H. E.* V. 19.

[4] *De Symb. ad Catech.* c. 7.

Leo.

Alms-giving as Atonement.

Almsgiving, or bequests to the Church, also came to be recognised as a means of atoning for sin. "If thou hast money," says St Ambrose[5], "buy off thy sin. The Lord is not for sale (venalis), but thou thyself art for sale; buy thyself off by thy works, buy thyself off by thy money[6]. Vile is money, but precious is mercy." Salvian[7] insists that the only thing which a man can do on his death-bed for the good of his soul is to leave all his goods to the Church; but the offering must be accompanied by real contrition of heart in order to be efficacious. Men like St Augustin[8] warned their flocks against leaving money to the Church in a fit of anger against their natural heirs, but still the practice grew of making the Church the legatee of at least a portion of a man's worldly goods.

Offerings for the Dead.

And not only did the dying leave their goods to the Church; offerings were also made for the departed. "It cannot be denied," says St Augustin[9], "that the souls of the departed are comforted by the piety of their surviving friends when the mediatorial sacrifice is offered for them and alms are given on their behalf in the church; but these things only profit those who so lived as to deserve to be benefited by them." As few would believe that their friends had lived so ill as to receive no benefit from their offerings, or so well as not to require them, the effect of this principle was that offerings were made for almost all the departed.

---

[1] *Conc. Arelat.* II. c. 50.

[2] Siricius *ad Himer.* c. 14, in Hardouin I. 851.

[3] *Sermo* 82, c. 7, § 10.

[4] *Epist.* 168 [al. 136] c. 2.

[5] *De Elia et Jejunio*, c. 20. (Gieseler I, 584, n. b.)

[6] Cf. *Daniel* IV. 24, Vulg.

[7] *Ad Ecclesiam* I. 10.

[8] *Sermo* 49 *De Diversis* (quoted by Ford *St Mark illustrated*, p. 159).

[9] *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, c. 110.

Ameliora-tion of Society.

The Christian Church brought comfort to an age in the throes of dissolution; before a generation which had fallen into moral laxity it held up a standard of nobler and purer life. It handed on to the new world which arose on the ruins of the Western Empire the torch of truth which it had received from above. It diffused through Society a more tender feeling for the weak and suffering, and so in the end introduced a more humane spirit into general legislation[1] and popular customs. The gladiatorial shows which had delighted the Romans were forbidden indeed by Constantine[2], but they were not really put down until the noble self-sacrifice of the monk Telemachus produced so deep an impression that the rescript against the practice, which Honorius issued immediately afterwards, really brought it to an end[3].

Telemachus, 404.

Attempts were made to restrain scenical representations within the bounds of decency and good order[4]. The wretched lot of slaves and captives was mitigated; the almost unlimited power which the old Roman law gave to a father over his children was restricted; above all, the condition of women was changed, and the same chastity was looked for in men which had once been expected only from women. The laws which inflicted disabilities on the unmarried were repealed[5], and celibates placed on an equality with the married; while difficulties were placed in the way of second marriages[6]. With regard to divorce a discrepancy arose between the law of the empire and the law of the Church, which had never recognized any ground for divorce except adultery. The great freedom of separation which prevailed in pagan times was indeed restrained, but the civil law permitted many

Penalties on celibacy abolished.

Divorce.

---

[1] It was noticed (Euseb. *Vita Constant.* IV. 26) that this process had already begun under Constantine.

[2] *Codex Theod.* XV. 12.

[3] Theodoret *H. E.* V. 26.

[4] *Codex Theod.* XV. titt. 5, 6, 7.

[5] *Ib.* VIII. 16.

[6] *Ib.* III. 8.

divorces which the Church did not sanction[1], and from this permission scandals arose. "Hear ye now," cries a preacher[2] at the end of the fourth century, "ye that change your wives as readily as your cloaks, ye that so often and so easily build bridal chambers, ye that on a small provocation write a bill of divorcement, ye that leave many widows while ye still live; be ye fully assured that marriage is dissolved only by death and by adultery." Jerome also bewails the difference of the laws. "The laws of Cæsar," he says[3], "differ from those of Christ; Papinian [the great jurist] lays down one thing, Paul a different thing."

Beneficence.

The duty of beneficence, whether to ascetics or to others who were in need, came into prominence in the Church and produced great results. The Church, become rich through the privileges bestowed upon it, was the principal protector of the poor and helpless in the needful time of trouble. The bishops had generally the chief control of ecclesiastical funds, and they were rarely found wanting in their due administration. In large cities the lists of those who were supported or succoured by the alms of churchmen often included some thousands of names. Rome was divided, for the purpose of poor-relief, into seven regions, each under the care of a deacon, and in each region a special edifice[4] was built for his use in distributing relief. When St Chrysostom was at Antioch three thousand names were on the list of those who depended on the Church for daily bread[5], and in Constantinople the same excellent prelate fed seven thousand. Special institutions were developed for the care of the stranger, the sick, the helpless of every kind. The great hospital which St Basil[6] founded at Cæsarea was no doubt a model for many others. Similar hospitals were soon erected in many cities both of the East and the West. The well-known friends of Jerome, Fabiola and Pammachius, founded hospitals in Rome and in the neighbouring Portus[7]; Paulinus estab-

St Basil's Hospital, c. 370.

---

[1] *Codex Theod.* III. 16.

[2] Asterius Amasenus *Hom.* 5, in Combefis *Auctarium Novum* I. 82; Gieseler I. 608, note *o*.

[3] *Epist.* 84 [al. 30] *Ad Oceanum*, c. 1.

[4] Diaconia. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 549.

[5] *Hom.* 66 [al. 67] in *Matthæum*.

[6] *Epistt.* 94 [al. 372] *ad Heliam*; 142 [al. 374]; 143 [428]; Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 20.

[7] Jerome *Epist.* 66, § 11.

lished one in Nola. Such institutions were maintained either from the common funds of the Church, or from special donations of land or money.

Property of the Church.

The income of the Church in its earlier and simpler ages was derived from the offerings of the faithful; but when, under the privilege granted by Christian emperors, the Church itself became possessed of considerable property, these oblations became relatively of less importance. Still, rich offerings were made, especially on Saints' Days and other high festivals, which were devoted partly to the maintenance of the clergy, partly to the succour of the poor. The bishops, who disposed of great riches, generally lived very simply, though there were no doubt some who justified the sneer of Ammianus Marcellinus[1], that it was no wonder that men fought for the possession of the see of Rome, seeing the wealth and splendour which they enjoyed who attained it.

Faults of the Laity.

But while there was in the Church no lack of Christian virtues, evils also appeared which were perhaps inseparable from a time of transition. When Constantine gave his favour to the Church, a multitude pressed into it who were still pagan at heart, taking with them many of the vices and superstitions of heathenism. Constantine seems to have contemplated this bringing over of the common herd from impure motives as one end of his liberality to the Church. Few, he said, were influenced by a real love of truth[2]; he could draw men to the doctrine of salvation more readily by abundant largess than by preaching[3]. He bestowed honours and privileges upon cities which accepted Christianity[4]. Christian writers did not deny that many entered the Church who were Christian only in name. Eusebius[5] tells us that he had himself observed the injury done by the flocking in of greedy and worthless men who lowered the standard of social life, and by the dissimulation of those who slunk into the Church with a mere outward show of Christianity. Augustin[6] declares that few sought Jesus for Jesus' sake; most sought their own ends in their profession of the

Nominal Christians.

---

[1] *Rerum Gestarum Lib.* XXVII. 3. 14.

[2] Eusebius *Vita Constant.* III. 21.

[3] *Ib.* III. 58.

[4] *Ib.* IV. 38, 39.

[5] *Ib.* IV. 54.

[6] *In Joannem, Tract.* 25, § 10.

faith. When Christians said these things it is not wonderful if a pagan[1] declared that many of those who filled the Churches were no more Christians than a player-king is a king. It was necessary to forbid even men in Holy Orders to use art-magic or incantations, to cast horoscopes or to practise astrology, to make phylacteries or amulets[2]; and to warn all persons against practising secret idolatry and attending heathen festivals[3]. Nor was the Church altogether free from superstitions of Jewish origin[4].

Superstitions.

Faults of the Clergy.

And the clergy did not in all cases give to the laity an example of the highest Christian life. When office in the Church no longer brought with it trouble and danger, but honour and power, it was eagerly sought for, and that sometimes by unworthy means. Gregory of Nazianzus[5] laments and Jerome[6] declaims against the eager pressing of ambitious and self-seeking men into places of honour in the Church; the luxury, the flattery, the legacy-hunting, the trading of some unworthy members of the clergy. We must of course bear in mind that the language of Gregory is that of a sensitive man weary of the strife of tongues and the wiles of intrigue, while Jerome's is that of a bitter and unsparing satirist, himself devoted to the ascetic life; but neither one nor the other is likely to have spoken utterly without warrant. And if confirmation of their words be required, it is unfortunately to be found in a law of the emperor Leo of the year 469[7], which forbids men to gain Holy Orders by bribery, and rebukes the avarice which hung as a cloud over the altar. Far from seeking the sacred office a man should not accept it unless compelled. We have here the germ of *nolo episcopari*.

Law of 469.

Influence of disputes

Two causes, it is to be feared, tended to demoralize the clergy. One was the excessive prevalence of dog-

---

[1] Libanius *Orat. pro Templis* (ii. 177, ed. Reiske).

[2] *Conc. Laodic.* c. 36, in Hardouin I. 787.

[3] *Ib.* 35, 39.

[4] Chrysostom *adv. Judæos Orationes* VIII., in *Opera* I. 716 ff.

[5] *Orat.* 43 [al. 20] *in Laudem Basilii; Apol. de Fuga sua, Orat.* 1 [al. 2]. Compare the curious passage from his *Carmen de se ipso*, in Gieseler I. 590.

[6] *Epist.* 34 [al. 2] *ad Nepotianum;* 18 [al. 22] *ad Eustochium.* See also the sermon printed with those of Ambrose (*In Dom. xxii post Pentec.*) and Augustin (*App. Sermo* 82) on Luke iii. 14.

[7] *Codex Justin.* I. 3. 31.

and intrigues.

matic disputes, which sometimes withdrew men's thoughts from the necessity of a holy life. It is easier, and perhaps more profitable, to be a partizan than a saint. The other was, for the East, the imperial Court at Constantinople[1]. When the emperor perpetually interfered in affairs of dogma, and it was of the last importance to gain his ear, bishops and priests jostled with courtiers and lackeys in the ante-rooms of the palace, and no doubt lost in spirituality what they gained in power.

DONATISM.[2] *Questions stirred.*

2. When the world mingled with the Church, the question could scarcely fail sometimes to arise—Can an organisation be said to be the Church of Christ when not only many of its members, but some even of its priests, are leading lives which shew no trace of Christian holiness? Are the sacraments efficacious which are administered by impure hands? What amount of corruption in an existing Church justifies those of its members who desire purity in forming a separate society? Can anything justify separation? These were the questions which underlay the wretched conflict in the African Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, though the controversy first arose on a special point, and that one which could not emerge except in an age of persecution.

Traditores.

The schism referred to arose out of the last persecution, when they who delivered up the sacred books to the persecutors were stigmatized as "traditores." Mensurius[3], bishop of Carthage is said to have given up heretical books to the agents of the government instead of those which they sought—an act which to the more rigorous appeared an unworthy evasion. But he and his archdeacon Cæcilian had probably given deeper offence by opposing the extravagant honours given to confessors, and the belief in the efficacy of relics. When Mensurius died, Cæcilian was somewhat hastily elected as his successor by the bishops of the Carthaginian province only, and at once consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga[1]. As the bishop of Carthage had primatial jurisdiction over Numidia also, the bishops of that province were naturally aggrieved that the election had taken place without them. In their anger they declared that the newly-consecrated bishop was almost a traditor, and that his consecrator was no better. The offer of Cæcilian, to be reconsecrated by Numidian bishops if anything had been done irregularly, was received by them with scorn and contumely. Passion was already too hot to listen to the words of truth and soberness. They chose as bishop a reader named Majorinus[2], and, on his death in 315, Donatus, who headed the schism with so much zeal and ability that it came to be known by his name.

---

[1] See the picture of this court in Ammianus Marcellinus XXII. 4.

[2] Optatus Milev. *De Schismate Donatistarum* (Dupin in his edition of this work gives a *Historia Donatistarum, Monumenta Vet. ad Hist. Donatist. pertinentia*, and other documents); Augustin *c. Epist. Parmeniani, De Baptismo, c. Literas Petiliani, c. Cresconium, Breviculus Collationum.* In the Appendix to vol. IX. of the Benedictine edition of Aug. *Opera* are given *Excerpta et scripta vetera ad Donat. Hist. pertinentia.* There is an essay by Valesius *De Schismate Donat.* appended to Eusebius (I. 775 ff. Reading's Edition). See also H. Noris *Hist. Donatistarum* in his *Opera* (ed. Ballerini), vol. IV. C. F. W. Walch *Ketzerhistorie*, Bd. IV.; F. Ribbeck *Donatus u. Augustin;* C. Bindemann *Der Heilige Augustinus*, II. 366 ff.; III. 178 ff.; D. Völter *Ursprung des Donatismus;* Hefele in *Kirchenlexicon* III. 254 ff.; J. M. Fuller in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* I. 881 ff.; F. W. Farrar *Lives of the Fathers*, II. 514 ff.

[3] For Augustin's account of Mensurius see *Breviculus Collat.* D. III. c. 13, no. 25; cf. Cæcilian, *Ib.* c. 14, no. 26. The Donatist account in the *Acta Saturnini etc.* (Baluze's *Miscellanea*, II. 72; Dupin's *Optatus* 156 ff.) is obviously a gross exaggeration (Gieseler I. 323, n. 2).

Cæcilian Bishop of Carthage, 311.

Majorinus, then Donatus, schismatical bishops.

Everywhere but in Africa Cæcilian was recognised as the legitimate bishop of Carthage. In Africa, the party which had chosen Majorinus, soon after the battle of the Milvian Bridge had made Constantine master of Western Europe, applied to him to name Gallican judges who might decide the questions at issue between them and Cæcilian. Constantine was very unwilling to interfere in the affairs of the Church, but nevertheless named Maternus of Cologne, Reticius of Autun, and Marinus of Arles to adjudicate. These three, with fifteen Italian bishops, met at Rome under the presidency of the bishop of that city, and, finding that the charges were not proved, fully acquitted Cæcilian[3]. To the dissident bishops the proposal was made that, if they would return into the fold of the Church, each bishop should retain his office; and that in a city where there were two bishops, the senior should remain, while for the other a see should be

Resistance to Cæcilian.

313.

---

[1] Optatus I. 18.

[2] Optatus (I. 19) declares that many of the bishops who chose Majorinus were themselves traditors. See also Aug. *Epist.* 43, § 10.

[3] Optatus I. 25.

provided elsewhere. When the Synod broke up, both Cæcilian and Donatus were for a time detained in Italy, while two of its members were deputed to carry the official tidings of its decision into Africa[1]. The Donatists were in no way appeased, but complained that their charge against Felix of Aptunga, the consecrator of Cæcilian, had not been heard. He was accordingly brought before the proconsul at Carthage, and the falsehood of the charge against him made abundantly clear by the evidence of the imperial officials who had been concerned in the persecution[2]. Further, the whole matter was referred to a Council at Arles[3]—the first ever called by imperial authority—which decided again in favour of Cæcilian and against his accusers. The proposal which had been made in the previous year by the Synod at Rome to Donatist bishops who renounced their schism, was renewed. On the point specially at issue it was laid down that an ordination by a traditor was valid, if the person ordained was duly qualified[4]. It was also enacted, no doubt with a view to the Donatists, that false accusers should incur the penalty of excommunication[5]; and declared that baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity was valid, even when conferred by a heretic[6]. In these decisions as to ordination and baptism the principle is of course affirmed, that the sacraments are effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, though they be ministered by evil men.

Council at Arles, 314.

The Donatists were still dissatisfied, and again appealed to the emperor, who now determined to hear the parties in person. He sat for this purpose at Milan, and after hearing the pleadings on both sides acquitted Cæcilian and declared the charges against him to be calumnies. Constantine however soon became aware that the Donatists, far from respecting his sentence, were more active and aggressive than ever under their vigorous head, Donatus "the Great," and was at last moved to take secular measures against them. He decreed that their churches should be taken from them, and their most distinguished bishops driven

Donatists appeal to Constantine, 316.

---

[1] Optatus I. 26.

[2] Optatus I. 27.

[3] The documents connected with this council, and the canons, are given in Hardouin I. 259 ff.

[4] Canon 13.

[5] c. 14.

[6] c. 8.

into exile. These measures roused the schismatics to fury, and probably first caused the formation of the bands of ruffians, who were afterwards so notorious under the name of Circumcellions. They did not fail also to try to gain the ear of the emperor, to whom they wrote, that they would never hold communion with his blackguard of a bishop[1], and requested full freedom for their worship and the recall of the banished Donatists. In a few years the emperor seems to have become convinced that it was impossible to crush the sect by violence, and that it was worth while to try the effect of gentle treatment. He repealed therefore all the edicts against them, permitted the return of their bishops, and declared in a rescript to his vice-gerent in Africa that these frantic people must be left to the judgment of God. He also exhorted the Catholics to patience, which was indeed much required, as the schismatics not only behaved in the most outrageous manner towards them generally, but even drove them out of their own churches[2]. Of any further measures of Constantine with reference to the Donatists we know nothing, but we know that in his life-time they so increased and multiplied in Africa, that, at a Synod which they held in the year 330, two hundred and seventy bishops of their party were present. But outside Africa they found few adherents. We hear only of two Donatist congregations in Europe—one in Spain, the other in Rome. They seem to have been particularly anxious to establish themselves under the shadow of the apostolic see, but here they were only able to hold a meeting on a hill outside the city, whence they were nicknamed Montenses, Campitæ, and Rupitæ. 321.

Outrages of the Circumcellions.

When Constans succeeded to that portion of the empire to which Africa belonged, and attempted to put down the Donatists, the Circumcellions burst out into new fury[3]. Contemporary authorities describe them as gangs of fanatics, generally of the lowest class, who, misled by some of better condition, under pretence of extraordinary zeal declined all honest labour and held a kind of communism. They begged or seized food and led a vagabond life, haunting and plundering the farmers' barns and granaries, whence they derived the name by which they are best known[1]. They called themselves Agonistici, combatants for Christ. With the help of these sturdy marauders the Donatist chiefs resisted the agents of the civil power, and not unfrequently seized the churches of the Catholics by main force. They often scoured the highways in great companies, treated those whom they met, especially priests of the Catholic party, with the greatest brutality, committed burglaries, and indulged in drunkenness and all kinds of violence[2]. With all this, they had a morbid longing for martyrdom. They interrupted the worship both of Christians and of pagans in the most outrageous manner with the deliberate purpose of being killed by the incensed worshippers; nay, it is even said that they bribed men to put them to death. Their war-cry of "Deo laudes" was heard with terror[3]. This state of lawlessness continued, with some intermission, up to and during the time when Augustin was bishop of Hippo. It is not to be supposed that all the Donatists, many of whom were undoubtedly men of pure life, looked with favour upon the conduct of these vagabonds. Far from it. About the year 345 some of the Donatist bishops besought the imperial general Taurinus to put them down by force of arms, and he did his best to comply[4].

---

[1] "Antistiti ipsius nebuloni," Aug. *Breviculus Collat.* III. 39.

[2] Optatus VI. 6, 7.

[3] Optatus III. 4.

Cæcilian died c. 343.

About the year 343 died Cæcilian of Carthage, whose election to the bishopric had been the beginning of strife. As however a Catholic, Gratus, was chosen to succeed him, the Donatists continued in schism. Africa was at this time in a wretched and impoverished condition, and the Circumcellion bands had probably been swelled by the addition of many whose principal desire was at any rate to get food. Constans therefore in 348 sent two commissioners, Paulus and Macarius, to that country to relieve the distress and to attempt the restoration of peace. But Donatus and other leaders of this party roused a rebellion, which compelled the commissioners to assert their

Constans' Commission.

---

[1] Augustin *c. Cresconium* I. 28. "Genus hominum ... maxime in agris territans et victus sui causa cellas circumiens rusticanas, unde circumcellionum nomen accepit." See also *in Ps.* 132, § 3. See I. Gregory Smith in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 393.

[2] Optatus II. 17, 18, 19, 23; III. 4; VI. 1—6; Aug. *c. Cresconium* III. § 46.

[3] Augustin *Hæres.* c. 69; *c. Gaudentium* I. § 32; *Epist.* 185, § 12.

[4] Aug. *in Ps.* 32, § 6; c. *Literas Petiliani* II. § 146.

Donatus exiled.

authority by force, and so to bring about a state of things of which the Donatists bitterly complained. Macarius caused several to be executed, and others to be driven into exile, among the latter the great Donatus himself[1]. The effect of these measures was, that so long as Constans, and after him Constantius reigned, the Donatists were reduced to silence and secrecy.

Julian, 361.

Parmenian Donatist bishop.

Schism of Tichonius, c. 373.

Rogatians, c. 368.

A change took place under Julian, who did not interfere in ecclesiastical quarrels, and allowed exiled ecclesiastics of all parties to return to their homes. Among these the Donatists returned, and the apostasy of their deliverer did not prevent the advocates of purity in the Church from singing his praises. Donatus had died in exile, but Parmenian[2] was chosen in his place as schismatical bishop of Carthage, and his followers, no longer repressed by the civil power, again committed all kinds of excess, and it was not until Valentinian I. and Gratian came into power that measures were taken to repress them. After earlier edicts had failed, Gratian, in the year 378, issued an edict forbidding all assemblies of the Donatists and confiscating their churches[3]. But their own divisions—which, says Augustin, were innumerable—were more injurious to them than imperial persecution. The first schism within the schism was formed by the learned Tichonius. He combated the two most characteristic tenets of his sect—that a church which tolerates sinners ceases to be a true church, and that those who come over from such a church should be re-baptized[4]. He probably desired to bring about a reconciliation between the Church and the schismatics, but he only incurred, as mediators usually do, the hatred of the leaders of his party. The Rogatians, the party of Rogatus, bishop of Cartenna, who repudiated the Circumcellions, and were (says Augustin[5]) the most moderate of the Donatist sects, shared the same fate. These appear to have been small parties, but other leaders

---

[1] Optatus III. cc. 1—7; *Passio Marculi*, in Mabillon's *Analecta Vet.* p. 182 ff.; *Passio Maximiani et Isaac*, in Dupin's *Monument. Donat.* p. 197 ff.; Augustin *c. Epist. Parmen.* I. 11; *c. Lit. Petil.* II. 20, 39 f.; III. 25 f.; *c. Crescon.* III. 49.

[2] On Parmenian's character and writings, see Optatus I. 4, 5; and Augustin *c. Parmenian.*

[3] *Codex Theod.* lib. XVI. tit. 6, l. 2.

[4] August. *c. Parmenian.* I. 1; II. 13, 31.

[5] *c. Epist. Parmen.* I. 10; *c. Petil.* II. 83.

Primian, 392.

attracted a larger following. Primian, who, on the death of Parmenian, about the year 392, became Donatist bishop of Carthage, very much relaxed the strict rule which had hitherto prevailed, and admitted to communion persons who were highly offensive to the more rigorous party[1]. When these openly opposed him, they were themselves excommunicated. Among the excommunicated was a deacon called Maximian. A considerable number of the Donatist bishops sided with him, and, at a council held about the year 393, deposed Primian, and chose Maximian in his place[2]. Primian, however, resisted deposition, and a still more numerous council, held at Bagai, deposed Maximian, excommunicated him and his adherents, and declared Primian to be still bishop[3]. After this the Maximianists had to endure the most furious persecution at the hands of the main body of their fellow-schismatics.

Maximian.

Donatist Council, c. 393.

Augustin bishop of Hippo, 395.

While Donatism was torn by these internal struggles, Augustin became bishop of Hippo and Honorius emperor of the West. From the time when Augustin took charge of his diocese, where the Donatists were very numerous, he did not cease to attempt the conversion of the schismatics by treatises, by preaching, by conferences, by letters. At the same time he set himself so to raise the standard of Christian life in his own community that the puritans should have no excuse for remaining separate from it. In the local councils which were held under his influence very easy conditions were offered to those schismatics who desired to return to the Church[4], even so far as to permit their clergy to retain the positions which they had assumed. Few Donatist bishops were willing to engage in the conferences which he proposed; they not unnaturally shrank from meeting so powerful a disputant as the bishop of Hippo face to face, and some preferred to calumniate him behind his back. Even a formal invitation to a conference which was put forth by a council at Carthage in the year 403[5] was flatly declined by the Donatists. They were in fact enraged by Augustin's success in making proselytes, and again broke

African Councils.

---

[1] Augustin, *Sermo II in Ps.* 36.

[2] Augustin u. s. and *c. Crescon.* iv. 6 ff., *c. Parmen.* i. 4.

[3] Aug. *c. Crescon.* iv. 4.

[4] *Codex Eccl. African.* c. 66, in Hardouin i. 899.

[5] *Ib.* c. 92, Hard. i. 914.

out into acts of violence, which probably led to the edict of Honorius against those who disturbed religious services[1]. Up to this time the Catholic bishops had abstained from invoking the secular arm against the schismatics; Augustin in particular had protested against it with some vehemence. The violence of the Donatists however at last induced them to have recourse even to this, and a Synod at Carthage in the year 404 supplicated the emperor to put in force a law of Theodosius which inflicted a heavy fine on frequenters of schismatical assemblies[2]. Before however the deputies from the Synod reached the emperor, he had already issued an edict punishing lay schismatics by fines and their clergy by banishment; and he soon after published a series of still more severe decrees[3], enjoining that the Donatists in particular should be deprived of their churches. Many conversions, or seeming conversions, followed, and thereupon another edict was issued in the year 407 in which, while free pardon was offered to those who returned to the Church, the severest punishment was denounced against those who remained obdurate. In the year 409 however the political circumstances of that disturbed time induced Honorius to change his policy, and grant freedom in the practice of their religion to all parties alike—a toleration which lasted only a few months. About the same time when this edict was withdrawn, the Catholic bishops renewed their proposal of a conference, to be held under imperial authority. The emperor at once gave directions for such a conference to be held at Carthage[4], and in 411 sent the tribune Marcellinus to Africa as his commissioner, to preside over the disputation and to decide in his name on the questions at issue. Marcellinus was a man of high character and a good Christian; but he had a fatal disqualification for the task which he had undertaken—he was an intimate friend of Augustin's, who had dedicated to him his great work on the City of God. It was therefore impossible for the Donatists, already suspicious, to accept

Edict of Honorius, 398.

Synod at Carthage, 404.

Edicts of Honorius, 405.

Conference at Carthage, 411.

Marcellinus presides.

---

[1] *Codex Theod.* XVI. ii. 31.
[2] Hardouin I. 917.
[3] *Codex Theod.* XVI. tit. 5.
[4] Minutes of the *Collatio* in Hardouin I. 1043 ff. There is also a *Breviculus Collationis* by Augustin (*Opp.* XII. 685 ff.).

him as an impartial judge in their cause. There flocked to Carthage two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatists. Each side chose seven representatives. On the Catholic side Aurelian of Carthage and Augustin himself were the leaders in debate; on the side of the Donatists, Primian of Carthage, Petilian of Constantine and Emeritus of Cæsarea. Before the debate began, the Catholics declared formally in writing that if the Donatist could prove that the Church, except in the Donatist society, had utterly died out under the plague of sin, they would all submit themselves and resign their sees. If on the other hand they (the Catholics) should demonstrate that the Church of Christ dispersed throughout the world could not possibly have died out through the sins of some of its members, then it would be the duty of the Donatists to return to communion with the Church for the salvation of their souls; and they declared that in thus acting the bishops should not lose their office[1]. *June,* 411. On this the conference began, exactly one hundred years after the commencement of the schism, and continued three days. The Donatists, who at first objected to sit with the sinners, that is, with the Catholics, made various attempts to lead the discussion to subordinate questions, and it was not until the third day that they could be induced to face the question of principle, whether a Church which tolerates sinners in the midst of it ceases to be a Church; and the question of fact, who was the cause of the schism. With regard to the first, Augustin soon reduced the Donatists to silence. With regard to the second, the evidence of authentic contemporary documents so clearly proved the innocence of Cæcilian and of Felix of Aptunga, that Marcellinus gave a formal decision that the Catholics had proved their case on all points. A few days afterwards he issued an edict, under the powers of the emperor's commission, forbidding Donatists to hold any kind of religious meeting and commanding them to hand over their churches to the Catholics. The Donatists appealed to the emperor, but he confirmed the decision of his plenipotentiary, and in 412 put forth a new edict[2] inflicting heavy fines on the Donatists and banishment on their bishops if they continued in their schism. Many hundreds now returned in their terror to the Church. Marcellinus, who had presided over the Conference, himself fell under suspicion of treason and was executed in the year 413, but Honorius still proceeded against the Donatists; and in 414 published another edict by which those of them who persisted in their schism were deprived of civil rights; and soon afterwards, in spite of the protest of Augustin, he forbade them to assemble for worship under pain of death[1]. From this time the number of the Donatists began to diminish, though the emperors still thought it necessary to issue severe edicts against them. But in the year 428 North Africa was conquered by the Vandals, when Catholics and Donatists were lost in the Arian cloud. Some small remnants seem however to have maintained themselves until their country fell in the seventh century under the dominion of the Saracens.

---

[1] *Collatio* 6, in Hardouin I. 1056f.

[2] *Codex Theod.* XVI. V. 52.

Severe Edicts of Honorius, 414.

Vandal Conquest, 428.

There is no reason to doubt that the leaders of the Donatists were, however mistaken, men worthy of respect; and the principle for which they contended was a highly important one—no less than the purity of the Church of Christ. The Church, said a Donatist bishop[2], should be pure and undefiled. True, the Lord predicted that there should be tares among the wheat, but that was in the field of the world, not of the Church. Our opponents, said another[3], seem to regard the name "Catholic" as belonging to certain nations or races; but that name properly belongs to a society in which the sacraments are administered with full efficacy, which is perfect, which is undefiled, not to races. They contended, in short, that the conception of Catholicism includes not only outward and visible connexion with the Church, but a holiness of life worthy of a disciple of Christ; that the presence of the Spirit must be attested by the fruits of the Spirit, and this especially in the case of the ministers of the Church.

Donatism a Protest against impurity.

---

[1] *Codex Theod.* XVI. v. 54 and 55.

[2] *Collatio Carthag.* III. c. 258.

[3] *Ib.* III. c. 102. We might compare Montaigne, *Essais* ii. 12—"Nous sommes Chrestiens à mesme tiltre que nous sommes ou Perigordins ou Allemans."

Evil of Schism.

So far well. But when, instead of trying to raise the standard of holiness within the Church, they constituted a society of their own outside it, virtually unchurching the rest of the world, their spiritual pride wrought its usual results. They became "heady, high-minded"; their moving principle came to be, not desire for greater holiness, but furious party-spirit and contempt for their opponents. St Paul recognized the corrupt Church of Corinth as a Christian Church because he saw there the Gospel taught and the sacraments duly administered; the Donatists were not content to acknowledge the Church of Carthage on these grounds. To hold the sacraments invalid because administered by men whom a sect or party hold to be unworthy of their sacred office, while they are not condemned by the legitimate ecclesiastical tribunals, would be to cast a shade of uncertainty upon all sacred ministrations whatever. Few will hesitate to admit that St Augustin was right in resisting the arrogant claim of a part of the community to pronounce who can and who cannot administer a valid sacrament.

The Secular Arm.

But perhaps the worst effect of the Donatist controversy was the appeal which resulted from it to the civil power to put down the schismatics by force. The Catholics had of course a right to require that the government of the country should preserve order, protect its subjects from violence, and secure them in the possession of their own buildings and other property. There is no reason to suppose that Augustin and his friends were animated by anything but a sincere desire for the good of the Church; but when they begged the emperor to put down the Donatists, as such, by temporal penalties, they entered on the way which led directly to the Holy Inquisition and the statute *De Heretico Comburendo*. The office of Inquisitor of the Faith, the name of which afterwards became so odious, was actually instituted under Theodosius[1].

CELIBACY OF[2] THE CLERGY.

3. Donatism was a headstrong and unfortunate attempt to constitute a pure society in the midst of a Church

---

[1] Gibbon's *Rome*, c. 27, p. 374, ed. Smith.

[2] G. Calixtus *De Conjugio Clericorum*; Ant. u. Aug. Theiner *Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den Christl. Geistlichen;* von Holtzendorf *Der Priestercölibat*; H. C. Lea *Sketch of Sacerdotal*

Tendency to Asceticism.

Counsels of Perfection.

Common Life.

Ascetics.

too hastily judged impure. This had no enduring effects; but a puritan movement of another kind had an influence upon the Church which was both deep and lasting. When the world and the Church were mingled together, the mass of Christians came to be far removed from the eager faith which had enabled the little band of earlier days to endure persecution with steadfastness and even with joy. The multitude led a life influenced no doubt by the commands of Christ, yet not very greatly differing from that of such pagans as truly sought to do their duty according to the light which was given them. Hence there came into prominence a distinction, not altogether unknown in earlier days, between the commands which all men are bound to obey and the counsels of perfection which comparatively few can observe. There are, says Eusebius[1], within the Church two kinds of life. First, that which is above the ordinary social life of man, which admits not of marriage, nor of the possession of property, nor of any superfluity, but devotes itself wholly and entirely to the service of God through the excess of heavenly love. Those who follow this life, guided by the right precepts of true piety and the promptings of a soul cleansed from sin, give themselves to good words and works, by which they propitiate the Deity and offer sacrifice on behalf of their fellow-men. Secondly, there is the lower and more natural life, which permits men to enter into chaste marriage, to attend to the business of the house, to aid those who are carrying on a just war, to engage, so far as religion allows, in farming and merchandize and the other occupations of civil life, giving set seasons to mortification, to instruction, and to hearing the Word of God. To this lower stage of Christian life all, Greek or barbarian, are bound to attain. That is, a distinction was drawn between the counsels of perfection which were necessary for the higher life, and the universal precepts which all are bound to observe. Those who attain the former are to the general body of Christians what trained athletes[2] are to those whose bodily powers are not

---

Celibacy (Philadelphia, 1869); Laurin *Der Cölibat der Geistlichen nach kanonischen Recht;* A. W. W. Dale *The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century.*

[1] *Demonstratio Evang.* I. 8.

[2] The word ἀσκεῖν was especially used of the training for athletic

specially developed. To these ascetics everything that tended to give grace and beauty to the life of man, unless in the actual service of the sanctuary, seemed at best superfluous, probably sinful.

Marriage depreciated.

Marriage, in particular, was no longer regarded by such teachers as a blessed state, instituted by God in the time of man's innocency, but as a necessary evil, which inevitably brought with it a lowering of the spiritual state and entangled a man in the affairs of this world. It is only permitted to the common herd; they who aspire to the angelic life must neither marry nor be given in marriage. Not content with rendering their due honour to purity and chastity, with reverencing those who lived in continence for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, many teachers represented the great passion which was implanted in man for the continuance of his race as in itself sinful; nay, as the very source and fount of sin. St Augustin, unconsciously influenced by his early Manichæism, greatly contributed to diffuse this view of life[1].

Preference for Celibate Clergy.

When this view of the superior holiness of celibacy came to prevail in the Church, it followed almost of course that Christians desired those who were engaged about their most sacred mysteries to be celibate. Early in the fourth century it began to be recommended that the clergy of the three higher orders, if they had wives, should be as though they had none[2]. In the great council of Nicæa it was proposed by some of the ascetic party to introduce this practice into the Church at large. This was however defeated by Paphnutius, an Egyptian ascetic of high repute, who vehemently entreated the bishops not to lay an intolerable yoke upon the clergy, since honourable is marriage and the bed undefiled. It was sufficient to lay down, according to a custom already ancient, that no man should contract marriage after admission to Holy Orders[3]. To this the Synod assented.

---

exercises; hence, by a natural figure, it was applied to those who trained themselves by self-denial to run with endurance the race which is set before us. Ἀσκηταὶ are equivalent to ἀθληταί, Plato *Repub.* 403 E.

[1] See particularly the treatises against Julian, and *De Civ. Dei*, lib. XIV.

[2] *Conc. Elib.* (c. 310) c. 33 (Hardouin I. 253).

[3] Socrates I. 11. Compare Stanley's *Eastern Church, Lect.* V. § 3; and Bishop Hooper in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biogr.* II. 377 (3rd edition).

Gangra, 360?

The Council of Gangra[1], somewhat later than that of Nicæa, went so far as to anathematize those who refused to receive the Eucharist from a married priest. Still, the general drift of opinion in the Church was unfavourable to the marriage of the clergy of the higher orders, and it was generally felt, both by the laity and by the clerics themselves, that the celibacy of the monks gave them a reputation for holiness among the faithful which was disadvantageous to the married clergy. Hence, it came to be the rule in the East that bishops at any rate, if they were married, should live as if they were not. Even to this, however, there were exceptions. Socrates[2] tells us that many bishops in the East had children in lawful wedlock during their episcopate, though most of them voluntarily practised continence. It seems probable that Gregory of Nazianzus was born after his father became a bishop[3]. Synesius early in the fifth century accepted the bishopric of Ptolemais only on condition that he should be allowed to retain his wife[4], which was evidently contrary to the usual rule.

Western Custom.

Siricius, 385.

In the West a stricter custom prevailed. In 385 the Roman bishop Siricius[5], stigmatizing in no measured terms the vile passions of the married, enjoined celibacy on bishops, priests, and deacons. Edicts of Innocent I.[6] in the year 405, and of Leo I.[7] in the year 443, enjoined at any rate the strictest continence, which was also prescribed in the canons of numerous councils[8]. It was far, however, from receiving universal obedience. The great Church of Milan, claiming the authority of its greatest bishop, St Ambrose, and bearing the repute of having the best clergy in Italy, was content with the ancient rule which permitted only one marriage to a cleric. When Hildebrand in the eleventh century entered on his reforms, "marriage was all but universal among the Lom-

Milanese Clergy.

---

[1] *Procœm.* and *can.* 4.

[2] *H. E.* v. 22, p. 296.

[3] H. W. Watkins in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 741.

[4] Synes. *Epist.* 105, p. 246; Calixtus *De Conjug. Cleric.* p. 235; Schröckh *K.-G.* VII. 163 ff. T. R. Halcomb (in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 775) thinks it improbable that he continued to cohabit with his wife.

[5] *Epist. ad Himerium*, § 7 (in Hardouin I. 849).

[6] *Ad Victricium*, § 9 (Hardouin I. 1001).

[7] *Ad Rusticum*, § 2 (Hardouin I. 1761).

[8] E.g. *II Carthag.* c. 2; *I Tolet.* c. 1; *I Arausia.* 22, 23; *II Arelat.* c. 2.

British practice.

bard clergy[1]." Even the famous archbishop Heribert of Milan was married, and "his wedlock neither diminished his power nor barred his canonization[2]." In the British and Irish Churches the marriage of the clergy seems to have been practised to a comparatively late date[3].

Civil Legislation.

The civil legislation followed the ecclesiastical but slowly. Edicts of Constantius and Constans[4] in the years 353 and 357 expressly exempted from certain exactions the wives and children of the clergy, who are clearly recognized as legitimate. Justinian by a law of A.D. 528 enacted that no one should be chosen bishop who had children or grand-children, because the charge of a family tended to distract a man from spiritual things[5]. At a later date he recognized[6] the ancient exclusion from the priesthood or diaconate of such as had married two wives or a divorced person or a widow. In all this it seems to be admitted that otherwise married men might be admitted to the ranks of the clergy.

MONACHISM[7].

4. The desire for the more perfect state produced also further effects. If the higher life involved the renunciation of marriage, of property and of secular business, it could not be led in the midst of an ordinary household or among the usual cares and distractions of a world still half-pagan. Hence arose the strong impulse which led multitudes to betake themselves to utter solitude in the desert, or to form communities in which the spiritual life should be the first object of existence. Hermits and monks were a protest against the merely secular life, only re-

Hermits. Monks.

---

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VI. c. 3 (vol. III. p. 440, 3rd edition). In the note here will be found an account of the various readings of the passage of St Ambrose which is appealed to.

[2] Milman u. s. p. 441.

[3] "The canons attributed to St Patrick (but of the seventh century), canon 6, recognize the relation of the 'clericus et uxor ejus.'" J. Pryce, *Ancient British Church*, p. 201, n. 2.

[4] *Codex Theod.* lib. XVI. tit. II. ll. 10, 14.

[5] *Codex Justin.* lib. I. c. *de Episcopis*, l. 42.

[6] *Novell. Const.* 6, quoted by Schröckh *K.-G.* XVI. 328.

[7] R. Hospinianus, *De Origine et Progressu Monachatus;* L. Bulteau, *Hist. Monastique d'Orient;* R. P. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieux;* B. Pez, *Bibliotheca Ascetica;* C. W. F. Walch, *Pragmatische Geschichte der vornehmsten Mönchsorden;* A. P. Alteserra, *Asceticon;* L. Holstenius, *Codex Regularum;* J. A. Möhler, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I. 165 ff.; W. Mangold, *De Monachatus Originibus et Causis;* A. Harnack, *Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale u. seine Geschichte;* I. Gregory Smith, *The Rise of Christian Monasticism.*

lieved by a few religious observances, into which too many Christians allowed themselves to fall. The motives which led the various brethren to become ascetics no doubt differed as the men differed; but it is not difficult to understand the charm which, in the midst of a restless and yet enervated world, was found in a life which offered, or seemed to offer, rest and freedom from worldly care. And the terrible calamities which fell upon the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries no doubt increased the desire to fly away from tumult to calm and safety.

Solitaries.

Solitude, the perfect quiet of a hut or cave in the desert, where a spring, a little garden and a palm-tree supplied all that was necessary for human life in the genial climate of Egypt, first drew men to leave the haunts of their fellows. We have seen already how St Anthony withdrew into the wilderness. Many soon followed his example. And it was not long before the unrestrained fancy of the solitaries led them to adopt strange forms of life. Some spent long years on the top of lofty pillars. Simeon[1], the most noted of these pillar-saints, who lived in the early part of the fifth century, established himself on a column which was finally raised to the height of sixty feet from the ground. There he remained some thirty years, exhorting to repentance those who flocked to him, settling disputes, making enemies to be at one, converting pagans. Men otherwise careless were arrested by so extraordinary a spectacle. The danger that men would come to think that some special merit attached to this form of mortification was early pointed out by Nilus[2], himself an ascetic; there was nothing worthy of praise in living on a pillar, but there was great danger lest a pillar-saint should be intoxicated by the undeserved praise which he actually received. "He that exalteth himself shall be abased."

Stylitæ.
Simeon, c. 390—460.

Bosci.

A still more strange phenomenon were the Βοσκοί or Grazers, who divested themselves of almost all the attributes of humanity. They had no habitations, but wandered about, like wild beasts, on mountains and uncultivated plains, supporting a wretched existence on such herbs and fruits as the earth brought forth of itself. They seem however to have come together for the services of the Church[1].

---

[1] Evagrius *H. E.* i. 13; Theodoret *Hist. Relig.* c. 26; Lives in *Acta Sanctorum*, 5 Jan. pp. 264 ff.; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, x. 522; S. E. Assemani, *Acta SS. Martyrum*, II. 227 ff.; E. M. de Voguë, *Syrie Centrale*, I. 141 ff.

[2] *Epist.* ii. 114.

Evils of solitude.

But Christian virtues, the excellencies of those who by their very profession belong to a body, cannot be fully developed in solitude. It is hard to reconcile the life of a hermit with the essential character of Christian love, since the hermit regards his own good only, while charity seeketh not her own. Nor will a man in solitude come to the knowledge of his own defects, since he has no one to admonish and correct him. "Woe to him that is alone when he falleth, and hath not another to lift him up[2]." Hence men soon came to feel the necessity for community in the religious life. A common life brings with it the necessity of rule and order, and so tends to correct the fantastic excesses into which solitaries too readily fell.

Lauras.

The first step towards the formation of a religious community was taken when a number of hermits built their cells near to each other, "like the wigwams of an Indian encampment, clustering round the chapel of the community[3]." Such an assemblage of huts crowded together was called a Laura. The hermits who inhabited it assembled together for divine service, and admitted the authority of a chief, generally the person whose fame had drawn others about him. The most famous founder of communities of this kind was St Sabas, the remains of whose earliest buildings are still to be found on the river Kidron.

Sabas, 439—531.

Pachomius.

But the first who gave a definite rule and order to a body of men, withdrawn from the world for the sake of religion and living a common life, seems to have been Pachomius[4], who gave rules for a body of monks dwelling together on an island of the Nile called Tabenna[5]. He founded not merely a monastery but an Order, for daughter-

Cœnobium at Tabenna, c. 335.

---

[1] Sozomen *H. E.* VI. 33; Theodoret *H. E.*, I. 21, §§ 11, 12.

[2] Ecclesiastes iv. 10. See Basil, *Regulæ Fusius Tract.* c. 7, and Nilus, *Epist.* III. 73 (quoted by Neander, iii. 331).

[3] I. Gregory Smith, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* II. 934.

[4] Sozomen III. 14. Lives of Pachomius, of doubtful value, are given in Rosweyd's *Vitæ Patrum* (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* 73, 230 ff.), *Acta Sanctorum*, 14 Maii, III. 295, and in Surius, *Hist. Sanctorum*, 14 Maii, p. 408 (from Simeon Metaphrastes).

[5] Valesius (on Sozomen III. 14) contends that the proper name of the island was Tabennesus. Others write Tabennæ.

Rule of Tabenna.

monasteries soon sprang up which followed the Rule of Tabenna and acknowledged the authority of its head, called the Abbas, or Father. It is not easy to say how much of the extant Rule[1] which bears the name of Pachomius is really due to him, how much to subsequent development, but the general characteristics we can scarcely err in attributing to the Founder. The brethren of this society were taught to avoid the temptations which arise from idleness. They plaited mats and baskets from the reeds of the Nile, they cultivated the ground, they built boats. Tailors, smiths, carpenters, and tanners were found among them. The sale of their products first supplied the wants of the society, and then that which remained over was given to relieve the wants of the sick and the poor and needy. Prisoners also were not forgotten. Twice a year the superiors of the several daughter-communities met at the chief monastery, when each gave an account of the administration of his office. A candidate for admission to the brotherhood was not received at once. He was first asked whether he was seeking refuge from some civil penalty; whether he was a free man and therefore competent to choose for himself his mode of life; whether he was capable of resigning all that he had. If he was able to answer these questions satisfactorily, he had to submit to a three years' period of probation. Finally, if he passed through this successfully, he was admitted to the brotherhood, solemnly pledging himself to live according to the monastic rule. On the first and last day of each week the monks laid aside the skins which they commonly wore and came into the sanctuary to receive the holy mysteries. Every day and night they said frequent prayers. Palladius is said to have founded also the earliest convent for women, with a rule similar to that of the men[2]. To these sisters was given the name "nonna," derived perhaps from an Egyptian word[3], whence such sisters have almost everywhere been distinguished as "nuns" or by some equivalent appellation. The general characteristics of the Tabennaïte monasticism may be said to be simplicity of life, labour, devotion, and obedience.

---

[1] A Latin translation of the so-called Rule of Pachomius is in Holstein's *Codex Regularum*, I. 95 ff. An outline of it is given by Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca* c. 38, and by Sozomen III. 14.

[2] Rosweyd's *Vitæ Patrum* I. c. 28; *Hist. Lausiaca*, cc. 34 and 38.

[3] According to Jablonski (*Opusc.* ed. Te Water, I. 176, quoted by Gieseler I. 541) the word is properly "Ennueneh" or "Nueneh." But "nonna" is more probably a child's word, formed like "papa" and "mama." See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.* s.v. *Nun.*

Rule of St Basil, c. 358.

A greater than Pachomius, St Basil, was the founder of an Order[1] which endures in the Greek Church even unto this day. He designed, says his panegyrist Gregory of Nazianzus[2], to unite the excellencies of the contemplative and the practical life, and his Rule bears the stamp of his good sense and knowledge of mankind. He recommends nothing repulsive or unpractical. What he regarded as the proper end and aim of asceticism was to render the body the obedient servant of the higher nature, not to cripple it by unmeaning austerities. His monks were to praise God and pray to Him, after the Psalmist's example, seven times a day, but they were not to make devotion an excuse for idleness. They, like those of Pachomius, were to labour for their own living at such trades as could be pursued without noise, and especially at the tilling of the ground. All that was earned was the property of the community; no man called anything his own. All that was required was kept in a common storehouse and dispensed at the discretion of the superior. No special rule was made as to the food to be taken, but the superior was to judge what was sufficient in each case. The use of wine was not forbidden. The monk's clothing was to be of the simplest and coarsest kind. Signs were, so far as possible, to take the place of words, except in divine service. Children who were presented by their lawful guardians were to be received and trained, but were not to be entered on the list of monks until they were of an age to understand the meaning of monastic vows. All postulants had to undergo a period of probation. St Basil's mother and sister united with other women to lead a monastic life. He permitted those who desired to enter a convent to take the vows at sixteen or seventeen years of age[3]. The African Church at a somewhat later date did not permit this before twenty-five[4], and a law of the empire refused to recognize such vows as valid if taken before the age of forty[1].

---

[1] St Basil's ascetic precepts are found in his *Sermones Ascetici*, his *Regulæ fusius tractatæ*, and his *Regulæ brevius tractatæ*.

[2] *Orat.* 20 *in Laud. Basil.*, p. 358, quoted by Gieseler I. 537.

[3] *Regula*, c. 7.

[4] *Conc. Hippon.*, c. 1.

Turbulent monks.

St Basil's institutions were wise, and where he ruled they were doubtless wisely carried out; but the administration of even the wisest code will sometimes fall into incompetent hands. Men found their way into cloisters who had no real vocation for the ascetic life. Some came in who had nothing to leave in the world and much to gain in the convent, making their profession of godliness a means of gain[2]. Such were eager to find occasion for activity outside their house. These formed the black rabble who incurred the contempt of cultivated heathens[3], who plundered and destroyed temples, who were constantly employed as the tools of fanatical partizans in the disputes about dogma of which they understood no more than the Ephesian mob did of the teaching of St Paul.

Evils of the cloister.

There were many who, like Chrysostom, acquired in monastic retirement, from their own failures and recoveries, a deep knowledge of the weakness of human nature and of the way to peace. But many, attempting to annihilate desires which are deeply rooted in man, were persecuted by impure thoughts; and there was a general tendency to attempt to cure these rather by bodily mortification than by heartfelt devotion. A seeking after Pharisaic self-righteousness, combined with an abject fear of malignant fiends, too often took the place of the trustful spirit of Christian love.

Audians, c. 340.

A peculiar form of monasticism was that of the Audians, who were, says Epiphanius[4], restive and schismatical, but not heretical. These took their rise from one Audius, or Udo, a layman of Mesopotamia, whose zeal for religion was offended by what he thought the easy and luxurious lives of the higher clergy. He founded several ascetic societies, in which the Paschal festival was celebrated at the same time as that of the Jews, and the literal interpretation of such passages of Scripture as seem to ascribe a human body to the Deity was insisted upon. Audius at an advanced age was banished to the northern coast of the

---

[1] Edict of Majorian, A.D. 458, quoted by Möller, K.-G. 395. Compare *Conc. Cæsaraug.* I. c. 8.

[2] Nilus *Tract. ad Magnam*, p. 297, quoted by Neander, III. 340.

[3] Zosimus v. 23; Eunapius *Vita Ædesii*, quoted by Gieseler, II. 537, n.t.

[4] *Hæres.* 70, c. 1. See also Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 10.

Black Sea, where he is said to have introduced monasticism among the Goths. This sect is believed to have disappeared about the end of the fourth century.

Western Monachism[1].

Athanasius in Rome, 340.

In the West, as was natural, monasticism ran a very different course. The practical good sense and calmer judgment of the Western leaders gave it such a form as answered to the needs of their Church. When first the banished Athanasius brought monks into the West they were looked upon as something extravagant; but under the fostering care of men like Ambrose in Milan, Jerome in Rome, and Martin in Tours, they soon became familiar objects.

Jerome in Rome, 382—385.

In Rome, Jerome attained extraordinary influence, especially with the weaker sex. The country-houses of Roman ladies became nunneries, where devout widows and maidens led an ascetic life. Tenderly nurtured women sacrificed to this over-mastering impulse position, friends, even life itself. At a time when, in spite of the Christianity of the emperors, a large portion of the Romans who were most distinguished in literature and politics still clung to the old faith; when many of the leading ecclesiastics were engaged in unseemly squabbles and contests for place[2]; the more sensitive souls were driven to seek a refuge in monastic life. Augustin found in Rome about the year 388 several convents presided over by men of worth and ability, where the brethren led a peaceful life without needless restrictions, maintaining themselves by the labour of their hands; and houses of women in which the sisters were instructed in faith and doctrine by the superiors, and occupied themselves in spinning and weaving. Both men and women performed miracles of fasting.

Augustin, 388.

Island Monasteries.

The islands on the West coast of Italy, and soon afterwards those on the South coast of Gaul, came to be peopled with men seeking a refuge from the storms of the world and opportunity for Christian contemplation, who mingled their chants with the plashing of the waves. Pious ladies, such as Jerome's friend Fabiola, turned the stream of their munificence to these island-monasteries, which in the terrible times of the Teutonic invasion became places of refuge for arts and letters, as well as for Christian life.

---

[1] J. Mabillon, *Observationes de Monachis in occidente ante Benedictum*, in *Acta SS. Bened.* I. 1 ff.; C. de Montalembert, *The Monks of the West.*

[2] See antea, p. 178.

Lerinum, founded c. 410.

Of these island-monasteries by far the most famous was that of Lerinum. Honoratus[1], born of a noble family of Belgic Gaul, was warned by a divine voice to repair to the island, to which his name was afterwards given. It was then absolutely desolate, but he set himself to establish a monastery there, and soon drew round him a body of disciples, among the first of whom was a young man named Hilary, whom by prayers and tears he prevailed upon to renounce the world. The fame of his piety caused him to be chosen bishop of Arles, but he held that dignity no more than two years, dying somewhat suddenly in the early part of the year 429. Lerinum became an important clergy-school for Southern Gaul, and trained many bishops, among them Hilary of Arles and Eucherius of Lyons, while two successive abbats, Maximus and Faustus, became bishops of Riez. From this monastery too came forth one of the most famous books of the fifth century, the Commonitorium of Vincentius.

Monastery near Poitiers, c. 360.

On the Continent, the religious house which was founded by St Martin in the neighbourhood of Poitiers about the year 360 is regarded as the earliest monastery in Gaul. But a far more important community was that founded in Southern Gaul by John Cassian.

John Cassian, c. 360—433.

c. 390.

405. *Convents near Marseilles.*

Cassian[2] was probably born in Southern Gaul, to which his writings unquestionably belong, about the year 360. While still young he entered a convent at Bethlehem[3], where he received his first training in religion. Once initiated in the ascetic life, he was seized with a longing to visit the native land of asceticism, Egypt. Among the Egyptian monks and hermits he remained in all ten years, and then passed on to Constantinople, where he was ordained deacon by the great John Chrysostom. When the patriarch was banished, it is thought that Cassian paid a visit on his behalf to Rome. Ten years later we find him in Marseilles, near which place he founded two convents, for men and for women respectively, after the model of those which he had seen in the East. By the example of these monasteries, and still more by the series of writings which he now began, he gave an immense impulse to the spread of monastic institutions, especially in Gaul and Spain. He died at a very advanced age, in the highest reputation for sanctity, probably shortly after the year 433. He wrote in later life on the Nestorian controversy, but his most famous works are the book on Monastic Institutions[1] and the account of certain conversations which he describes himself as having held, in company with his friend Germanus, with some of the most renowned Egyptian anchorites. In the first-named book he describes principally the Egyptian system with a view to the instruction of Gaul. He shews us the dress of the Egyptian monks, the girdle of their loins, the hood just covering the head, the linen tunic with sleeves barely reaching to the elbow, the cord through which the skirts of the garment may be drawn for greater freedom in labour, the short mantle over head and shoulders, the goat-skin thrown over all; the sandals on the feet and the staff in the hand. He wisely orders that if a hair-shirt is worn—he does not recommend it—it shall be concealed, not made a show of[2]; and generally he reminds the brethren that a monk's dress should be distinguished by simplicity, not singularity, and that the Egyptian dress is not in all respects suited for the climate of Gaul[3]. The postulant for admission must sit at least ten days before the door of the monastery, enduring the scorn and the contemptuous questions of the brethren as they pass to and fro[4]. When admitted, he spends his first year in a novices' room, outside the convent proper, under the care of one of the older monks[5]; and when permitted to enter the convent itself, he is again under the special charge of one of the seniors, until he has perfectly learned the lesson of implicit obedience. If he cannot endure the trial, the clothes in which he entered are put upon him again and he is sent forth into the world[6]. It is worth noting, that although the monk must part with his worldly goods, the house which he enters

---

[1] Hilarii *Sermo de Vita S. Honorati*, in Migne *Patrol. Lat.* L. 1249 ff., and in Surius, *Hist. Sanct.* Jan. 16; *Gallia Christiana* I. 527; R. Travers Smith in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* III. 138.

[2] W. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* I. 410; G. F. Wiggers, *De J. Cassiano Massiliensi* (Rostock, 1824); J. Fessler, *Instit. Patrologiæ*, II. 751 ff.; I. Gregory Smith, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 414; A. Ebert, *Christlich-Latein. Literatur*, I. 331.

[3] *De Cœnob. Inst.* III. 4.

De Cœnob. Institutis, c. 416.

---

[1] Its full title is *De Cœnobiorum Institutis et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis libri duodecim.*

[2] *Instit.* I. 2.

[3] *Instit.* I. 10.

[4] *Ib.* IV. 3.

[5] *Ib.* IV. 7.

[6] *Ib.* IV. 6.

is on no account to receive them[1]. Once within the monastery, the monk is to have nothing of his own—not even his thoughts[2]. The meals of the Gallican monks were to be meagre, but not so scanty as those in Egypt, which, Cassian is aware, would not be sufficient to sustain life in Gaul[3]. In Egypt they were eaten in silence, in Cappadocia with reading of Scripture[4]. Of offences, some were to be corrected by spiritual rebuke, some with stripes or by expulsion from the house[5].

Monastic failings.

In the latter portion of the work Cassian treats of the principal sins and failings to which hermits and monks were especially liable, their causes and their cure. These are gluttony, sins of the flesh, avarice, anger, gloominess, torpor[6], vanity, and pride. These seem to be mentioned in the order of the difficulty of their treatment. The coarser and more obvious sins, which can be readily subjected to discipline, stand first; then come those more subtle sins which are often the product of the ascetic life itself. Torpor was the special trial of the solitary, whom it attacked most in the weary hour of noon, whence it was known as the demon that destroyeth in the noon-day[7]. Useful labour was the great antidote; and here the writer takes occasion to commend the industry of the monks of Egypt, who not only maintained themselves by their labour, but also assisted to support others[8]. The nature of vanity, that juggling fiend which can put on the disguise of a virtue, and which, when it seems to be overcome, rises again to make the sinner vain of his own victory[9], is sketched with a masterly hand. Pride, though the first of sins, is nevertheless the last to make its appearance; it rises out of the excellent virtues which a man possesses, and spoils them all[10]. With the combating of this most subtle evil the book concludes.

Collationes Patrum, c. 419—430.

The "Collations" may be regarded as a supplement to the Institutes, being intended to lead ascetics to a yet higher degree of holiness than that contemplated in the earlier work. Cassian recognises[1] the much greater difficulty of his present task, inasmuch as the forming of the inner man so as to enable it steadily to contemplate God and to rise towards perfection is greater than that of subjecting the outer man to authority and precept. These Collations, which were specially written with a view to being read by monks and hermits, were intended to point the way to the ideal perfection of ascetic life by shewing how the principal questions likely to arise in such a life were treated by those who were its leaders. Here we find the results of meditation as well as the lessons of practical life, philosophic discussion as well as moral precept, frequently illustrated by examples from the stores of memory or legend. The end and aim of the monk's calling[2]; the respective advantages of the monastic and the solitary life[3]; the three great renunciations which the monk makes —of his earthly riches, of his own passions and propensities, and of the present world[4]; perfection, and most of all divine love[5]; spiritual knowledge, and especially the various methods of interpreting Holy Scripture[6]; God's gifts of grace[7], under which head many miracles are related, with the wholesome caution, that the great lesson to be learned of Christ is not to work wonders, but to be meek and lowly of heart; the various kinds of prayer and thanksgiving[8]—such and suchlike are the subjects treated of. The speculative spirit which is visible throughout shews that the great leaders of asceticism were not unfaithful to the Christian philosophy which was still found in the Alexandrian schools. The influence of the book was immense, as St Benedict[9] ordered it to be constantly read at a certain hour in the houses of his order; and it was perhaps the philosophic thought which is found in many of the Collations which gave to the monks that bent to mental toil and abstract discussion which made the monasteries of the West for many generations the chief centres of literature and intellectual life.

---

[1] *Instit.* IV. 4.

[2] *Ib.* IV. 9.

[3] *Ib.* IV. 11.

[4] *Ib.* IV. 17.

[5] *Ib.* IV. 16.

[6] Acedia (ἀκηδία), the dulness of feeling which sometimes steals over a man, and renders him indifferent even about his own salvation; "torpor mentis bona spiritualia inchoare abhorrentis" (Ferraris *Bibliotheca*, s. v.)

[7] "Dæmonium meridianum," *Ps.* 90 [our 91] v. 6 Vulg.; *Instit.* X. 1.

[8] *Instit.* X. 22.

[9] *Ib.* XI. 7.

[10] *Ib.* XII. 3.

---

[1] *Preface* to Pt. I.

[2] *Collatio* 1.

[3] *Ib.* 19.

[4] *Ib.* 3, § 6.

[5] *Ib.* 11.

[6] *Collatio* 14.

[7] *Ib.* 15.

[8] *Ib.* 9.

[9] *Regula* c. 42.

Benedict and his Order[1].

But all the efforts of previous founders of monasteries fall into the shade when we compare them with those of Benedict of Nursia. The career of the Benedictine Order is the most signal testimony to the virtue and the wisdom of its first legislator. Benedict, the son of a noble family in Umbria, received a literary education in Rome, but, shocked at the dissipated life which he saw around him, fled at an early age from the great city and took refuge in an almost inaccessible cave in the Sabine hills, near Subiaco, where he depended for sustenance on the charity of the neighbours. Like very many who have attempted to crush the natural passions, he was haunted by visions of the fair forms which he had left behind. He shared the fate of other famous hermits, in that his solitude became populous with the throng of men who were attracted by his fame. It was probably this circumstance which induced him to forsake Subiaco with his companions, and to journey southward to Monte Cassino in Campania, where he founded what became the most famous monastery in the world, the model after which, more or less directly, all other Western monasteries have been formed. The Rule which he gave was stern, but not too stern for human frailty to endure. It trained men to be strong, not fanciful.

Monastery at Monte Cassino, 529.

Rule of St Benedict.

At the head of every monastery was a paternal ruler, an abbat, chosen by the major part of the monks themselves; under him was a "præpositus" or provost whom he appointed, and again under him, if the monastery was so large as to require them, subordinates called "decani" or deans, who took the superintendence each of ten brethren. As each new brother was admitted to a monastery he was required to pledge himself in the most solemn manner to the three great principles of monastic life, firmness of resolution, change of life, and obedience to God and His saints[2]. As it was of the very essence of monastic vows that they should be lifelong, no one was allowed to take them until he had passed through a period of probation, in which every opportunity was given to the novice to learn the real nature of his own calling, and to the superiors of the society to discover whether he had the qualities which a good monk should have. With a view of deterring waverers, the act of reception was made an especially solemn one. The novice to be received had to lay on the altar of the church of the monastery, with solemn invocation of the saints whose relics were there, a written engagement to observe the Rule. The man who could not with a clear conscience affirm his earnest intention of remaining in the brotherhood to his life's end could be no true monk; nor the man who could not resign his natural wishes and passions so as to be guided in all things by the monastic Rule. As in the Rule of Pachomius, so in the Benedictine, not only did the brethren observe the several hours of the Divine Office, but they had to undertake regular manual labour, often of some severity. Idleness was, their founder thought, the mortal enemy of the soul. In order to cut off any excuse for the monks' absenting themselves from their house, each convent was enjoined to provide for itself, so far as might be, all necessary supplies of food and clothes and the like. The third vow bound the monk to the most absolute and implicit obedience to the superior. Whatever was commanded by one in authority he was bound to obey at once as a Divine command. This prompt obedience was the first step in the road of humility; by it the monk testified that nothing was dearer to him than the work of Christ. When the novice was required to regard his abbat as one who stood in the place of Christ, we may clearly see that the Benedictine Order was from the first a Church within the Church; what the bishop was to the diocese, that was the abbat to his convent. The difference was, that the narrower circle aimed at a higher level of Christian life than was possible for the wider. And as the strength of the Church lies in the fact that it is a growing tree, capable of adapting itself to its environment, so the Benedictine Order, without departing from the intention of its founder, has been able to accommodate itself to each of the many ages through which it has lived. Benedict did not enjoin upon his monks an excessive asceticism. While his principles were stern and unbending, he did not make the monastic life wearisome by petty restrictions. His Rule became the model for all the monastic Rules of the West, in which we consequently find, with all differences of detail, a certain uniformity of type. The great glory of the Benedictine Order is, that it impressed upon a world in the process of dissolution the capacity for renewal which is to be found in a life of order, industry, obedience and simplicity. Whether in the humbler office of tilling the land, or in the higher of preserving literature and promoting sound and thorough study, the Benedictines have a well-earned fame, though they wrought for the sake of the work, and not for their own glory. The literary labours however for which the Benedictines have been so distinguished were not directly prescribed by the founder; the credit of setting monks to work at literature belongs to Cassiodorus.

---

[1] B. Haeften, *Disquisit. Monast. lib. xii; Acta SS.* Bollandi, 21 March; J. Mabillon *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.*, and *Annales Ord. Bened.*; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat.* I. 43; *Rule* in Holstein's *Codex Regularum*, I. 111 ff.—L. Tosti, *Storia di Monte Cassino* (Napoli 1842); C. Brandes, *d. Bened. Orden*, in *Tübing. Quartalschrift* 1851, pt. 1. Dantier, *Les Monastères Benedictins.*

[2] "Stabilitas, conversio morum, obedientia coram Deo et sanctis ejus."

Cassiodorus, c. 470—563.

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus[1] (or Cassiodorius) was a Roman of distinguished family, who held high offices of state under the Gothic king Theoderic. On the fall of the East-Gothic kingdom in 540, being now an old man, he withdrew to his property in Bruttium, where he founded a convent, the Monasterium Vivariense. He thought it nobler to be the slave of Christ than to rule the kingdoms of this world[2]. In the wreck of the empire he was anxious to preserve learning. To this end he gave to his society his own excellent library, which he continued to augment until his death[3]. Not only were the monks incited by his example to the study of classical and sacred literature; he trained them likewise to the careful transcription of manuscripts, in the purchase of which large sums were continually disbursed. Bookbinding, gardening, and medicine were among the pursuits of the less intellectual members of the fraternity[4]. The system took root and spread beyond the boundaries of Italy, so that the multipli-

Monasterium Vivariense, c. 540.

---

[1] *Vita Cassiodori*, prefixed to Garet's edition of his *Opera* (Rouen, 1679; Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 69); Denis de Ste Marthe, *Vie de Cassiodore* (Paris 1694); De Buat, *Leben Cassiodors*, in *Trans. of R. Acad. Munich*, I. 79 ff.; A. Thorbecke, *Cassiodorus Senator* (Heidelberg 1867); A. Franz, *M. A. Cassiodorius Senator* (Breslau 1872); E. M. Young, in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 416 ff.; A. Ebert, *Christl.-Latein. Lit.* I. 474 ff.

[2] *De Anima, sub fin.*

[3] *De Instit. Divin. Lit.* c. 8.

[4] *Ib.* 28, 30, 31.

cation of manuscripts became gradually as much a recognised employment of monastic life as prayer or fasting[1]."

Chrysostom on Monasticism.

The tendency to asceticism was not unopposed. Even St Chrysostom, himself a monk and an earnest advocate of monastic life, emphatically rejected the distinction which was in his day commonly drawn between the counsels of perfection which were for the few and the easier precepts which might suffice for the many. He knew how degrading was the notion that men could not attain true Christian life in the midst of the family and the world. The beatitudes, the precepts of the Lord and His Apostles, these are not for the monk alone, but for all the members of Christ[2]. A man who has a wife and children may see the Lord, as Isaiah saw Him, if he has but Isaiah's spirit[3]. Those who run away from the world in which the battle has to be fought are deserters from the great army[4].

Jovinian, c. 388.

A very different kind of critic was Jovinian[5], who had also originally been a monk, but had become convinced of the unsoundness of the principle on which monasticism was generally defended. He declared (it was said) that the merits of virgins are just the same as those of the married and the widowed who have been baptized into Christ, if the general holiness of their lives is the same; and that abstinence from food has no higher merit than the thankful participation of it[6]. Inorthodox opinions are also attributed to him with which we are not at present concerned. Jovinian's reasoning is said to have influenced certain nuns so strongly that they broke their vows and married. His teaching excited the indignation of pope Siricius, who in a consistory of the Roman clergy condemned and excommunicated him and eight of his adherents as guilty of innovation and heresy[7]. Jovinian betook himself to Milan, hoping perhaps for the protection of the emperor, who then held his court there. But in matters of faith Ambrose was there almost all-powerful,

Siricius condemns Jovinian, 390.

---

[1] E. M. Young in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 417.

[2] *In Hebræos*, Hom. VII. c. 4.

[3] *Hom. de Seraphinis* (VI. 138 ed. Montf.).

[4] *In II Corinth.* Hom. VI. c. 4.

[5] Jerome *Adv. Jovinianum;* Augustin *De Nupt. et Concept.* II. 23; *Retractat.* II. 23.—C. W. F. Walch, *Hist. der Ketzereien*, III. 635 ff.; W. B. Lindner, *De Joviniano et Vigilantio.*

[6] Jerome *Adv. Jov.* I. 2; Aug. *De Hæres.* c. 82.

[7] Hardouin *Conc.* I. 852.

and from Milan also the heretic had to flee. Ambrose also issued a letter[1] of warning against some of his own monks who, like Jovinian, denied the peculiar merit of celibacy.

Monks not clergy.

Monks, as such, were at first simply lay people, and attended the services, or at any rate received the Eucharist, at some neighbouring church[2]. In process of time however it was felt to be unfitting that the brethren of a monastery should depend for sacred ministrations on the clergy of a church which, as the founders of religious houses preferred remote sites, was often at some distance, and it became customary for one of the older brethren, generally the abbat himself, to be a presbyter and to administer the sacraments within the convent walls[3]. The society had then precisely the same relation to the bishop of the diocese as a village with its presbyter. It was not until the time of Benedict that it was regarded as essential for a convent to have its own church and its own clergy[4]. But as the monastic life was regarded as the highest form of Christianity and attracted many men who would otherwise have become clergymen, it became usual from the time of pope Siricius[5] to ordain monks. From the end of the fourth century, in fact, the monasteries came to be looked upon as the best schools for the clergy, and especially for the bishops. Monks were not unfrequently ordained against their own wish[6], and even those of the clergy who were not monks frequently lived in a community which differed little from a convent.

Monks ordained, c. 385.

Monks and Bishops.

The old custom of making monasteries subject to the bishop of the diocese was broken in upon in Africa early in the sixth century. Religious Houses there sought greater independence by making themselves subject to distant bishops, especially to the bishop of Carthage[7].

---

[1] *Epist.* 63.

[2] Theodoret *Hist. Relig.* c. 12; Cassian *Instit.* v. 26; *Collat.* VII. 34.

[3] Augustin *De Moribus Eccl. Cath.* c. 33. The famous abbat Paphnutius was a presbyter, but he walked five miles to church on Saturday and Sunday, though he was the sole teacher and director of his community. See Cassian *Collat.* III. 1; X. 2.

[4] Alteserrae *Asceticon* VII., c. 2, p. 597.

[5] *Epist.* 1 *ad Himerium*, c. 13.

[6] See instances in Rosweyd *Vitæ Patrum* III. 99; Theodoret *Hist. Relig.* cc. 13, 15, 19, 21; Socrates *H. E.* VII. 6, p. 320.

[7] *Synodus Carthag.* A.D. 525, dies ii, in Hardouin *Conc.* II. 1082 ff. Compare *Conc. Carth.* A.D. 534, Hardouin II. 1178.

Elsewhere the right of each bishop to take the spiritual oversight of convents within his diocese was strenuously maintained[1], but this was carefully restricted to such matters as belong to the office of a bishop; the general care of the "lay multitude" of monks was reserved to the abbat alone, unless the interference of the bishop was specially invoked[2].

The imperial government, which found it necessary to provide that men should not escape their civic duties, and especially the duty of tax-paying, by receiving ordination, made an exception in favour of those who had become monks in early youth[3]; these might receive Orders, forfeiting thereupon a fourth part of their property. The law also provided that a married person, man or woman, should not carry off all the family property on adopting the monastic life[4], and it dissolved the marriage when one of the parties took the vows[5]. It deprived parents of the right to forbid their children to enter a monastery, or to disinherit them for that cause[6]; and masters also could not prevent their bond-servants from becoming monks[7]. But if it made entrance easy, it made exit difficult. A monk who left his monastery, whether to enter another or to go into the world, was to leave whatever goods he had in the hands of that which he had first entered[8].

---

[1] *Conc. Aurelian.* I. c. 19 (A.D. 511); *Epaon.* c. 19 (A.D. 517); *Arelat.* V., c. 2 (A.D. 554).

[2] *Conc. Arelat.* III. (c. A.D. 455), in Hardouin II. 780.

[3] *Codex Justin.* I. iii. 53.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] Justin *Novella* 123, c. 40.

[6] *Codex* I. iii. 55.

[7] *Novella* V. *De Monachis*, c. 2.

[8] *Ib.* c. 4.

CHAPTER XIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL CEREMONIES AND ART.

Ch. XIII. Rites and Ceremonies. *The Mysteries.*

I. The most essential portions of Christian worship were not exposed to all men without distinction[1]. The fear of impious imitations or parodies, such as Justin[2] thought that he saw in the mysteries of Mithras, no doubt restrained Christians from making public in a world still largely pagan rites which they themselves reverenced with the deepest awe. In Justin's description, it does not appear that any but the baptized were present at the administration of Baptism or the Eucharist, nor is the form of the consecration of the elements revealed. As in the apostolic age non-believers might be present at ordinary meetings for reading of the Scriptures and preaching[3], so in the fourth and fifth centuries unbaptized persons were admitted to hear the Bible lessons and exposition which might prepare them for admission to the inner mysteries of the faith. Those who were admitted to this more open worship were however for the most part not mere heathens, but either catechumens seeking admission to the mysteries, or penitents desiring re-admission; and the portion of the eucharistic service at which they were present was called the Liturgy (or the Mass) of the Catechumens. To these, at the end of their instruction, which might extend over two or three years, were imparted what were regarded as the most sacred treasures of the Christian faith—the essentials of the baptismal rite and the confession of faith to be made by the baptized, the Lord's Prayer, the form of consecrating and administering the Holy Eucharist. The baptismal confession became the password[1] by which Christians knew each other, and also the solemn promise of allegiance which the Christian soldier made to the great Captain[2]. As may be supposed from the reservation of the Creed, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was not spoken of in the presence of heathens[3]. To the carefully guarded secrets of the Christians the name "mystery" came to be applied, as to rites only known to the initiated[5].

---

[1] On this *Disciplina Arcani* see Theod. Meier (who is said to have invented the phrase) *De Recondita Vet. Eccl. Theologia* (Helmstadt 1677); E. von Schelstrate in his *Antiquitas Illustrata* (1678) and in a special treatise, *De Disciplina Arcani* (1685), the latter a reply to W. E. Tenzel's *Diss. De Discip. Arcani* (1683); Tenzel rejoined in a much larger work, printed in his *Exercit. Selectæ, pars posterior*, p. 19 ff; see also Bingham's *Antiquities*, Bk. x. c. 5; Frommann, *De Disciplina Arcani*; R. Rothe, *De Discipl. Arcani*, and art. in Herzog's *R. E.* I. 469 ff.; C. A. G. v. Zezschwitz, *System der Christl. Kirchl. Katechetik*, I. 154 ff.

[2] *Apologia* I. 66. Compare Tertullian *De Præscript.* 40.

[3] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

Catechumenate. 1. The mystery which surrounded the most sacred rites of the Church of course gave greater importance to the catechumenate[6], the preparatory instruction through which all candidates for baptism had to pass. *Seasons of Baptism.* The usual solemn seasons of baptism were Easter and Pentecost, the latter called in English White-Sunday, from the appearance of the newly-baptized in their white robes[7]; but in the East the Epiphany, when the baptism of the Lord was commemorated, was regarded as an appropriate time for baptism, and in the West Christmas and Saints' Days, especially the Nativity of St John Baptist. The bishops of Rome however strongly insisted on the observance of the ancient seasons, unless in the case of those who were in danger of death[8]. Where the great season of baptism was

---

[1] *Σύμβολον*. "Symbola discreta unusquisque dux suis militibus tradit...ut si forte occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus symbolum prodat an sit hostis an socius." Rufinus, *De Symbolo*, 2. Maximus of Turin (quoted by Zezschwitz, I. 173) applies the military word "tessera" to the Creed in the same sense.

[2] "Hoc sacramento militans ab hostibus provocor." Tertull. *Scorpiace* 4. But "sacramentum" is also used, in a more general sense, for the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist, as in "ecclesiarum sacramenta," *Adv. Marcion.* III. 22.

[3] Cyril. Hierosol. *Catech.* VI. 29.

[4] *Μυστήριον*.

[5] *Μεμυημένοι*.

[6] Von Zezschwitz, *Katechetik*, I. 227 ff.; E. H. Plumptre in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 317 ff.

[7] This is clearly shewn by W. W. Skeat, *Etymolog. English Dict.* s. v. *Whitsunday*. The Old-English name for this day was however *Pentecoste*.

[8] Siricius *Ad Himerium*, c. 2, in Hardouin I. 847; Leo, *Ad Epi-*

Easter-Eve, those among the catechumens who were near the end of their course were, during Lent, brought under more special instruction. To these "competentes," as they were called[1], the articles of the Creed, the nature of the Sacraments and of the penitential discipline of the Church, were carefully explained. The forty days of catechizing were a period of fasting, vigil, prayer, and continence. An epoch in the instruction was the solemn delivery of the Creed by word of mouth to the candidates, which took place at Rome in the fourth week of Lent, generally on the Wednesday; at Milan on the eve of Palm-Sunday; in Gaul and in Gothic Spain on Palm-Sunday itself; in Proconsular Africa probably on the eve of the fourth Sunday in Lent[2]. This was followed by the giving of the Lord's Prayer[3]. At Rome, and perhaps elsewhere, the giving of the Creed was preceded by the solemn handing over of the Gospels[4].

The ceremonies of baptism itself—the interrogations, the renunciations, the exorcisms, the blessing of the water, the unctions, the three immersions, the milk and honey, the imposition of hands—remained essentially the same as in the preceding period[5], though with some additional details. The kindling of lamps immediately after the baptism is first heard of in the fourth century; as is also the putting-on of white apparel[6], which, if first assumed on Easter-Eve, was worn until the Sunday after Easter, known as the Sunday of the Putting-off the White Garments[7]. Another ceremony which appears early in the fourth century is the washing of the feet of the baptized[8]. But

---

scopos Siciliæ, c. 1, in Hardouin I. 1755. Compare *Conc. Gerundense* 2; *Autissiodorense*, c. 17. See Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 165.

[1] The more elaborate classification of catechumens, which is sometimes supposed to have existed, is probably founded on a misunderstanding of the authorities. See F. X. Funk in the Tübingen *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1883, pp. 41 ff.

[2] See W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Traditio Symboli*, p. 1994.

[3] St Augustin's sermons 56—59 were composed for such an occasion. See Duchesne, *Culte*, p. 291.

[4] The Abbé Duchesne (u. s.) believes that this scene is represented typically in that of the Lord giving the Law, frequently found in ancient art.

[5] See p. 152.

[6] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Myst.* IV. c. 8; Ambrose *De Mysteriis*, c. 6. (The authenticity of this treatise is doubted; but see Fessler's *Instit. Patrol.* I. 688.)

[7] *Dominica in albis depositis*; Κυριακὴ τῆς διακαινησίμου.

[8] Ambrose u. s.

if the changes in the actual ceremony were unimportant, its general aspect changed much when the Church gained its freedom. "It would be difficult to imagine any scene more moving than that pictured to us in the pages of St Cyril[1], when on the eve of the Saviour's resurrection, at the doors of the church of the Anastasis [at Jerusalem] the white-robed band of the newly-baptized was seen approaching from the neighbouring baptistery, and the darkness was turned into day in the brightness of unnumbered lights. As the joyous chant swelled upwards—Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven and whose sin is covered—it might well be thought that angels' voices were heard echoing the glad acclaim—Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth no sin, and in whose spirit there is no guile[2]."

Infant Baptism.

Baptism deferred.

It is clear that in the period with which we are dealing baptism was commonly administered to such as were capable of instruction in the mysteries. Yet infants were also baptized. "Let the lambs of our flock be sealed from the first," said Isaac the Great[3] in the early part of the fifth century, "that the Robber may see the mark impressed upon their bodies and tremble...Let the children of the kingdom be carried from the womb to baptism." A great hindrance to the baptism of infants was the desire to reserve for a later age the sacrament which might (it was thought) wash away the sins of the previous life. Even the pious Monica preferred to defer her son's baptism when she saw him no longer in peril of death[4]. Those who were lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God wished to defer the purifying washing to the latest moment of their lives. Against this view, which, as may be supposed, was not favourable to morality, the greatest teachers most earnestly protested[5], and it gradually ceased to prevail.

Confirmation.

The chrismation and laying-on of hands followed in ancient times immediately on the washing of water, and this is still the custom of the East. In the West, if no bishop was present at the baptism, the baptized were presented to him afterwards at some convenient season, this part of the service being reserved to the episcopal order. The Arabic canons, called Nicene[1], desire the chorepiscopus in his circuits to cause the boys and girls to be brought to him, that he may sign them with the cross, pray over them, lay his hands upon them, and bless them. When heretics were readmitted to the Church, even if their baptism was held valid, they were in almost all cases required to receive imposition of hands from a Catholic bishop.

---

[1] *Præfat. ad Catech.*

[2] W. B. Marriott in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 157.

[3] In Assemani's *Biblioth. Orient.* I. 221, quoted by Marriott u. s. p. 170. Compare *Constt. Apost.* VI. 15 § 4, "Βαπτίζετε δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια."

[4] Augustin, *Confess.* I. 11.

[5] Gregory of Nyssa wrote against those who deferred baptism (*Opera*, ii. 124 and 215, Ed. Paris, 1638) and Basil (*Opera*, ii. 1057, ed. Ben. 1839) exhorted men to receive it.

Lay Baptism.

A layman was permitted to baptize one who lay in peril of death, who, if he survived, was to be brought to the bishop for the laying-on of hands[2]. An African Council in the year 398 forbade women to baptize[3]; notwithstanding which in later times midwives were instructed to baptize new-born infants in case of need.

Heretical Baptism.

Western view.

The question of the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, already agitated in the second century, reappeared at a later time, especially in connexion with the Donatists. The general conclusion arrived at in the West may be stated in the words of St Augustin with regard to Marcion. "If Marcion," he says[4], "hallowed baptism by the Evangelic Words, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the rite was sound, even though his own faith, as he understood by those words something different from that which Catholic truth teaches, was not sound, but stained with the fictions of falsehood." And he elsewhere defines his conception of the effect of baptism among heretics. In heresy men may have baptism, although it does not begin to avail them unto salvation until they have been converted from the error of their ways[5]. On this principle the Second Council of Arles[6] directed that Photinians coming over to the Church should be baptized, but that Bonosians should not,

---

[1] Canon 55, in Hardouin I. 472. See on the whole subject Martene, *De Rit. Antiq.* lib. I. c. ii.

[2] *Conc. Eliberit.* c. 38, in Hardouin I. 254.

[3] *Conc. Carthag.* IV. c. 100; Hard. I. 984.

[4] *C. Petilianum*, c. 3.

[5] *De Baptismo c. Donatistas*, I. 12; IV. 4 and 25; V. 5 and 8, etc. See Marriott in *Dict. Chr. Ant.* 173.

[6] *Canons* 16, 17; probably A.D. 452.

Eastern view.

as they had already received baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity. In the East the view prevailed that baptism must be received from blameless priests or it became pollution[1]. To this effect Athanasius[2] declares that he who is sprinkled by heretics is rather defiled in ungodliness than redeemed with the ransom of Christ.

Jovinian on Baptism, c. 388.

Jovinian, a man in other respects also eccentric, ascribed extravagant effects to baptism.. He endeavoured to shew, said his opponent Jerome[3], that they who had received baptism in the fulness of faith could not be tempted of the devil. If any were so tempted, they had received the baptism of water only, and not of the Spirit. All who had kept their baptism unstained had the same reward in the Kingdom of Heaven, as—on the other hand—all who fell had the same punishment. His views were condemned by Ambrose[4] and by Siricius[5], bishop of Rome.

A.D. 389.

Eucharistic Doctrine.

2. The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, important as it is, did not become the subject of any conspicuous controversy or of synodal decision within the first six centuries. There was no sharp authoritative definition of the effect of Eucharistic consecration. Various teachers expressed their opinions in diverse ways without condemning those who expressed their views differently. All agreed that there was something in the Mystery to be looked upon with reverence and awe[6]; all agreed that the Bread and Wine became, by priestly consecration, in some sense the Body and Blood of Christ; but the nature of the change was variously conceived and expressed. Some regarded the Presence of Christ in the Elements as a spiritual one, effectual only to the faithful receiver; others conceived the effect of consecration rather as a change of substance[7] in the Bread and Wine; while the greater number of teachers adopted neither of these views to the exclusion of the other. Almost all spoke of a change or trans-

Presence in the Elements.

---

[1] *Constt. Apost.* VI. 15; *Canones Apost.* 47, 68.

[2] *Contra Arian. Oratio*, II. § 43.

[3] *Adv. Jovinian.* ii. 1, 35; 19, 20. Compare Augustin, *De Hæres.* 82.

[4] *Epist.* 42 *ad Siricium.*

[5] *Epist.* 7 *ad Diversos Episc.* in Hardouin I. 852.

[6] Φρικτὸν and "tremendum" are common epithets.

[7] "Substance" is here used as equivalent to *οὐσία* or *ὑπόστασις*, that which underlies the visible and palpable in any object (Socrates, *H. E.* iii. 7).

formation[1], terms which were also applied to the baptismal water and to chrism after benediction. Those who were most under the influence of Origen, as Eusebius of Cæsarea[2], Athanasius[3], and Gregory of Nazianzus[4], inclined to the more spiritual view, which also found vigorous support in the West from Augustin[5] and his followers, influenced as they were by the belief that only those who were predestinated to life could really and truly feed upon the Son of God. Cyril of Jerusalem[6], Chrysostom[7], Hilary of Poictiers[8], and Ambrose[9] incline rather to the conception of a change in the substance of the Elements. Gregory of Nyssa[10] held the peculiar view that as, during the Lord's earthly life, bread and wine became by assimilation part of His natural Body, so, after His Ascension, by the working of His divine power, the consecrated Bread and Wine become part of His glorified Body. The Nestorian controversy was not without effect upon the views which were held as to the nature of the Eucharistic change. Those who held that the divine Nature of Christ did not annihilate the human, also held that the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic Elements did not annihilate the proper substance of the Bread and Wine. It remains, said Theodoret[11], in its own essence or substance; the proper nature or substance of the Bread and Wine, said pope Gelasius[12], does not cease to exist. Still, the popular tendency was naturally to the more obvious and easily conceivable view of the mystic change, and this is found embodied in liturgies. The definite doctrine of transubstantiation emerged from the scholastic philosophy in the Middle Ages.

Eucharistic Sacrifice.

We have already seen that from very ancient times the Eucharist was regarded as, in some sense, a sacrifice, as in it was commemorated and pleaded the one all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ. This conception acquired greater prominence in the fourth century, and the Fathers sometimes use expressions which almost seem to imply that in the Holy Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ is repeated, without shedding of blood. Such expressions as "the spiritual sacrifice," "the bloodless service," are frequent, both in sermons and in liturgies[1], but still they imply rather a commemoration than an actual sacrifice[2]. Yet Chrysostom also speaks as if in the consecrated Eucharist the Lamb that was slain were actually lying on the altar[3]. The connexion of propitiatory masses with the doctrine of purgatorial fire is not found before the time of Gregory the Great.

---

[1] Μεταβολή, transfiguratio.

[2] *Demonstratio Evang.* I. 10, § 28 ff.: *Theol. Ecclesiast.* iii. 12.

[3] *Epist.* 4 *ad Serapionem.*

[4] *Orat.* 1, p. 38; 3, p. 70; 17, p. 273.

[5] In Joannem, *Tract.* 25, pars 2; 26, c. 18; *De Civ. Dei*, XXI. 25.

[6] *Catech.* 22, c. 4; but compare c. 3.

[7] *Hom.* 54 on John vi. 54; compare *Hom.* 83 on Matt. xxviii.

[8] *De Trinitate*, VIII. 13.

[9] *De Mysteriis*, c. 9.

[10] *Oratio Catechet.* c. 37.

[11] *Eranistes, Dial.* 2 (IV. 126; ed. Schultze).

[12] *De Duabus Naturis*; in Routh's *Opuscula*, 493.

The Holy Eucharist.

In the celebration of the Holy Eucharist the same elements are found which were already in use in the third century, but—as in the case of baptism—with some amplification and added splendour. The first portion of the service, to which catechumens were admitted, consisted principally of prayer and reading of passages of Holy Scripture[4].

Missa Catechumenorum.

Prophecy, Epistle and Gospel.

The readings of Scripture in the Eucharistic office were in ancient times three; the Prophecy[5], or reading from the Old Testament; the Apostle or Epistle; and the Gospel. A rubric in the Liturgy of St James[6] directs the reading of a passage from the Old Testament; and the practice still continued in the West in the latter part of the sixth century[7]. The reading of a portion from "the Apostle"—that is, St Paul—or from an epistle of some other apostolic writer, and from a Gospel, has probably been universal from the earliest times to the present day. The allusions to the practice are almost innumerable. At an early date certain books seem to have been appropriated to certain ecclesiastical seasons, and the readings

---

[1] Cyril, *Catechet.* 23, c. 8; *Lit. S. Jacobi* in Neale's *Tetralogia*, p. 137; *S. Chrysost. ib.* p. 136.

[2] Ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας, Chrysostom, *Hom.* 17 in *Hebr.* c. 3; "Christiani peracti sacrificii memoriam celebrant." Augustin, *C. Faustum*, 20, c. 18.

[3] Sermons 32 and 35, pp. 416, 435, quoted by Kurtz, *Handbuch*, I. 2, p. 324.

[4] The distinction between the Liturgy of the Catechumens and that of the Faithful of course became unmeaning when Infant-baptism prevailed everywhere and paganism was unknown; but the form remained.

[5] See W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Prophecy*.

[6] Neale's *Tetralogia*, p. 31.

[7] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iv. 16.

Readings proper for Seasons.

to have been taken from them in order, unless the course was interrupted by some festival for which there were proper lections. It was, for instance, an established rule in St Chrysostom's time that the Acts of the Apostles should be read in the period between Easter and Pentecost[1]; and St Augustin[2] apologizes for interrupting his course on St John, in which he had followed the order of the Eucharistic lections, because a Saint's Day intervened the lections of which he was not at liberty to change. No table of Epistles and Gospels now exists which is certainly earlier than the time of Gregory the Great, but "even the earliest Greek manuscripts bear distinct traces of having been used for liturgical purposes[3]," and "the fact that the same lections were employed by the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries as the subjects of their homilies proves the very early date of their assignment to particular days[4]."

Preaching[5].

The word of exhortation and the exposition of Scripture were, as we have already seen[6], regarded as a due preparation for the Eucharistic feast. In the fourth century preaching was regarded as a special function of the bishop, but not to the entire exclusion of presbyters. Chrysostom, still a presbyter, says at the end of a sermon preached at Antioch, that he must now be silent and make way for his Master. No layman, not even a monk, however distinguished, was permitted to preach in a church[7]. In some cases, a portion of a sermon was addressed to the general congregation, including catechumens and others, while another was reserved for the faithful when they alone remained[8]. Sozomen[9] tells us that in

---

[1] Chrysost. *Hom.* I. *in Acta Apost.*

[2] *Exposit. in* I. *Joan.* p. 235 (quoted by Kurtz, *Handbuch*, ii. 342).

[3] F. H. Scrivener in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Lectionary*, p. 954.

[4] E. Venables in D. C. A. s. v. *Epistle*, p. 622. See also W. E. Scudamore, *ib.* s. v. *Gospel*, pp. 940 ff.

[5] B. Ferrarius, *De Ritu Sacrarum Eccl. Vet. Concionum;* H. T. Tzschirner, *De Claris Eccl. Vet. Oratoribus Comm. IX.* (Leipzig, 1817 ff.); Paniel, *Geschichte der Christl. Beredsamkeit;* Lentz, *Gesch. d. Christ. Homiletik;* A. Nebe, *Zur Gesch. d. Predigt;* R. Rothe, *Gesch. d. Predigt;* Moule, *Christian Oratory of the First Four Centuries* (Camb. 1864); Ker, *Lectures on the Hist. of Preaching.*

[6] p. 154.

[7] Leo I. *Epist.* 32 *ad Pammachium.*

[8] Möller, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 560.

[9] *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 19. See Bingham's *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 3.

Rome neither the bishop preached nor anyone else. If this was the case, the custom certainly was broken through in the fifth century by Leo the Great, of whom we have many sermons. To speak generally, preaching was frequent in the great town churches, but comparatively rare in the country villages; not that presbyters in charge of a church where there was no bishop were forbidden to preach, but that they frequently lacked the will or the power. It was to correct this state of things that presbyters were everywhere enjoined to preach, and that, where they were unable to do so, deacons were empowered to read homilies of the Fathers[1]. The bishop commonly delivered his address sitting on his throne at the east end of the sanctuary, though he often came forward, in order to be better heard, to the rail which separated the sanctuary from the nave, or to the desk from which the lessons were read.

Sermons not in Liturgy.

It must not be supposed, however, that it was only in the Eucharistic office that sermons were preached. There are, for instance, two sermons of Augustin's on the same subject[2], the second of which must have been preached in the afternoon. Chrysostom also preached at a later hour than that of communion, though it appears that he had to combat a superstitious objection to hearing sermons after taking food[3].

Sacred Oratory.

Oratory occupied in the early centuries but a subordinate place in the Western Church, but in the East it was much more prominent and important, and was sedulously cultivated, the Greek preachers adopting the style which was taught in the schools of rhetoric by such men as Libanius. From the schools also the practice of applauding admired passages passed into the churches, much against the wish of the greatest preachers. Chrysostom[4] has to remind his hearers that they did not come to church to see a stage-play. Sermons were for the most part carefully prepared orations delivered without a manuscript; but we hear occasionally of sermons being read. In Syria sermons in a loosely metrical style were in much favour.

---

[1] *Conc. Vasense* II. c. 2 (A.D. 529).

[2] *Psalm* 88.

[3] *Hom.* 10 *in Genesin.* See Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 271, note 3 (1st ed.).

[4] *Hom. in Matt. xvii.* c. 7.

Missa Fidelium.

Of the later portion of the Liturgy, at which only the initiated, the enlightened, were allowed to be present, St Cyril of Jerusalem, in the last of his lectures to his catechumens[1], supplies us with an exact and trustworthy account, as it existed in the mother of Churches in the middle of the fourth century. It is to this effect. First, the deacon presents to the bishop, and to the presbyters who encircle the sanctuary, water to wash their hands, symbolizing the purity with which we ought to approach the holy mysteries. He then exhorts the brethren to give each other the Holy Kiss, a token of the oneness of their souls. The bishop then exclaims, "Lift up your hearts," and the faithful respond, "We lift them up unto the Lord;" then, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God," to which the response is, "It is meet and right." Then God's mercies in heaven and earth, through angels and men, are commemorated, the strain ending in "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." "Then," proceeds Cyril, "we beseech the merciful God to send forth the Holy Spirit upon the elements displayed on the altar, that He may make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ; for certainly whatever the Holy Spirit may have touched is hallowed and changed. Next,...over that propitiatory sacrifice we beseech God for the peace of the Church, for the good ordering of the world, for kings, for our soldiers and allies, for those who are sick or in trouble, and in short we all pray for all who need help, and so we offer this sacrifice. Then we commemorate those who have gone to rest before us, first among them patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God through their prayers and intercessions may accept our prayer. After these, we commemorate those holy fathers and bishops and all others of our body who have gone to rest before us, believing that the greatest benefit will accrue to their souls on whose behalf prayer is offered while the holy and awful sacrifice is displayed." Upon this intercession followed the Lord's Prayer. Then the bishop says, "Holy things for holy men"—the consecrated elements are holy, fit for the holy alone to receive—to which the response is made, "One only is holy, One only is the Lord, even Jesus

Washing of hands.

Kiss.

Sursum Corda.

Preface.

Sanctus.

Epiklesis.

Intercession for the living,

and the dead.

The Lord's Prayer.

"Holy Things."

---

[1] *Catech. Mystag.* v. p. 323 ed. Bened.; in Harvey's *Eccl. Anglic.* *Vindex*, III. 307 ff.

"O taste and see." *Communion.*

Christ." Then the chanter sings the words, "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is," and the communicants approach, holding out the right hand supported by the left, so as to receive the Body in the palm, saying *Amen* upon reception. Cyril recommends his neophytes to touch their eyes with the holy particle before partaking. After the Body, the cup of the Blood is received, reverently, with bowed head, the recipient saying *Amen.* With the moisture remaining on the lips the communicant is recommended to touch the forehead, the eyes and the other organs of the senses. Then he is to wait for the prayer and to give thanks to God Who has granted to him so great mysteries.

Prayer and Thanksgiving.

Words of Institution. *Oblation.*

In this description it may be observed that there is no mention of the recitation of the Words of Institution or of the Oblation of the Consecrated Elements. St Cyril was perhaps unwilling to mention these in such a manner as to run the risk of bringing them to the knowledge of the heathen. However this may have been, they are so absolutely universal in all existing liturgies that it is impossible to doubt that they are derived from very early, if not absolutely from primitive times[1].

Families of Liturgies.

The characteristics above enumerated are found, with many differences of detail and of arrangement, in almost all the liturgies which have come down to us. These fall into five divisions; the Palestinian, of which the Greek Liturgy of St James, corresponding in its principal features with that described by St Cyril, is probably the earliest example; the Alexandrian, typified by that called St Mark's; the East-Syrian or Nestorian; the Hispano-Gallican; and the Roman, from which the Ambrosian differs but little. Of these the first three may be called Eastern, the other two Western, though the latter also, especially the Spanish, shew traces of an Eastern origin.

Points of agreement and difference.

We find in nearly all liturgies, after the *Sanctus*, Commemoration of the Lord's Life, or of some event in it, and of the Institution of the Eucharist, Oblation, prayer for living and dead, leading on to the Lord's Prayer, with its

---

[1] It is certain that the recitation of the Words of Institution in consecrating the Eucharist was regarded as an immemorial custom in the fourth century; see Chrysostom, *Hom.* I. *de Prodit. Judæ*, c. 6.

Embolismus or expansion of the petition, "Deliver us from evil." In the Eastern liturgies always, sometimes in the Gallican and Spanish, but not in the Roman or Ambrosian, we have an Epiklesis or prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements. In the Alexandrian (St Mark's) liturgy alone, the prayers for the living and the dead, and for acceptance of the sacrifice, are inserted in the Preface which intervenes between the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus*. The East-Syrian liturgies differ from Palestinian mainly in having the intercession for living and dead *before* the Epiklesis. The most remarkable peculiarity of the Roman rite is, that the commemoration of the living is separated from that of the dead and precedes consecration. The peculiarities of the Gallican rite shew that it belongs to a wholly different family from the Roman. In it the prayers for living and dead, with the kiss of peace, follow the oblation of the unconsecrated elements and precede the *Sursum Corda*. The *Sanctus* is immediately followed by the prayer called *Collectio post Sanctus*, and this again by the recitation of the words of Institution. The solemn processions at the bringing in of the Book of the Gospels—the "Lesser Entrance"—and at the bringing in of the Elements—the "Greater Entrance"—are peculiarly Eastern. And it is not only in arrangement and in some details that the Eastern liturgies differ from the Western. While in the East the liturgical forms are fixed, and nothing varies from day to day except the Lections and some of the Hymns; in the West almost everything changes with the festival. The Roman Liturgy has regularly changing Collects, as well as Lections and Hymns, and had anciently an almost equal store of changing Prefaces[1]. In the Liturgies of the Gallican type even the prayers which accompany the Consecration change with the season. And the style of the East is markedly different from that of the West. While the prayers of the East are long, and remarkable for a certain solemn magniloquence, in those of the West, of which we have familiar instances in our own Anglican Collects, we are at once struck by a terse and even laconic expressiveness. The "gorgeous East" is contrasted

Eastern,

Alexandrian,

East-Syrian,

Roman,

Gallican peculiarities.

---

[1] The number of Prefaces in the Gelasian *Sacramentary* is much larger than in the modern Roman *Missal*.

here, as in many other points, with the more sober and practical West.

The Elements.

Bread leavened.

The Elements were still offered by the members of the Church. It would seem to follow that the bread was that which was commonly used in households, though it may no doubt have been specially prepared. In the East there is no question that from the first the bread provided for the Eucharist has always been leavened, while in the West there can scarcely be said to be any distinct proof of the use of unleavened cakes before the time of Leo IX. (c. 1050)[1]. It was indifferent whether the wine was white or red, so that it was made from the juice of the grape[2].

Wine mixed with water.

Eulogiæ.

The mixing of water with the wine was almost universal, and was thought to symbolize the blood and water which flowed from the Lord's pierced side, or the two Natures in the Person of Christ[3]. To avoid the latter symbolism the Armenian Monophysites used pure wine[4]. The consecrated elements were called Eulogiæ, a name afterwards applied to that portion of the oblations which had not been consecrated, and which was distributed after celebration to those who had not communicated[5]. The old custom of sending consecrated eulogiæ, as a sign of brotherly feeling, to distant Churches or Bishops, was forbidden by the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century[6]. Ordinarily, any remains of the consecrated elements were consumed by the clergy, or, it would seem, in some cases by innocent children[7], infant-communion being still practised[8]. Communion in one kind, that of bread only, was only heard of among the Manichæans[9].

Infant Communion.

Frequency of Communion.

As in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries the commemorative and sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist came to be more regarded than the receiving the heavenly food, the faithful communicated less frequently. In the East they are said to have contented themselves with one communion in the year[1]; but daily communion was not infrequent, and Christian teachers urged the faithful to communicate at least weekly[2]. Councils threatened with excommunication those who did not at any rate communicate at the three great festivals[3].

---

[1] Bona, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. I. c. 23; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 749 ff. (1st ed.); Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Elements.*

[2] Scudamore, *Notitia*, p. 769 f.; *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 604.

[3] Clementine *Liturgy*, *Constt. Apost.* viii. 12, § 16; there are similar directions in most of the Greek Liturgies. See also *Conc. Carth.* III. c. 24; *Codex Can. African.* c. 37.

[4] This practice was condemned by the *Conc. Trullan.* c. 32, together with that of the Aquarians, who used water without wine.

[5] Called also ἀντίδωρον (Scudamore, *Notitia*, p. 793; *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 628 f.).

[6] About A.D. 365, in canon 14.

[7] Evagrius, *H. E.* IV. 36.

[8] Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. *Infant-Communion.*

[9] See p. 105.

Fasting Communion.

Even in the time of Tertullian[4] it seems to have been regarded as becoming that the recipients and the ministers of Holy Communion should be fasting. But the necessity of communicating fasting does not appear to have been recognised before the fourth century. From that time there is a general consent of testimony[5] that the sacrament could only be given to those who had not taken food on the day of reception. It was emphatically laid down by conciliar decrees[6] that the clergy who administered the Eucharist must be fasting. The one exception was on Maundy Thursday[7].

Vestments.

The whole service took, during the fourth and following centuries, an aspect of greater stateliness and splendour. The number of clergy was greatly increased, and they appeared in special and appropriate vestments[8]. These were derived from the dress once almost universal among the upper classes of the Empire both in East and West; the long tunic with some kind of super-vestment, which bore various names. The white tunic used as the ceremonial dress of a Christian minister came to be known simply as alba, the modern alb. Other varieties of the tunic were the dalmatic and the Greek sticharion, both of

Alb.

---

[1] Pseudo-Ambrosius, *De Sacramentis*, v. 4.

[2] Augustin, *Epist.* 54 *ad Januarium;* Gennadius, *De Dogm. Eccles.* c. 23.

[3] *Conc. Agathense* (A.D. 506), c. 18.

[4] *De Corona*, c. 3; *De Oratione*, c. 14.

[5] e.g. Basil, *Hom.* ii. *De Jejunio*, p. 13; Chrysostom *in* 1 *Cor. Hom.* 27, p. 231; *Ad Pop. Antioch. Serm.* 9, p. 103; *Epist.* 125, p. 683; Augustin, *Epist.* 118 c. 6.

[6] *Autissiod.* c. 19; *Matiscon.* II. c. 9.

[7] Augustin *u. s.; Codex Canon. Afric.* c. 41=III. *Conc. Carthag.* c. 29.

[8] W. B. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum;* C. J. Hefele, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, in *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte u. s. w.* ii. 150 ff.; D. Rock, *Hierurgia*, p. 414 ff.; F. Bock, *Die liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters;* the articles on the several vestments in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*

Chasuble. Stole. Maniple. Staff. Ring. Head-covering.

which we find mentioned as lay garments before they were appropriated to the services of the sanctuary. The upper robe appears as the φαινόλης, or planeta; at a later date as the casula, our "chasuble." A strip of cloth passed round the neck, so that the ends hung down in front, or, for a deacon, passed over the left shoulder, was called the orarium, in much later times the stole; and a similar strip passed round the wrist, the maniple. There is little doubt that the omophorion and the pallium are simply modifications of the stole. "The colour of the liturgical vestments up to the Middle Ages was always white, for all orders of the clergy[1]." As early as the fourth century we find the pastoral staff regarded as one of the insignia of a bishop[2]. Rings were used by bishops, as by other dignified persons, from early times[3]; but there seems to be no distinct proof of their being regarded as symbols of office before the latter half of the sixth century[4]. Early in the seventh century we find stole, ring, and staff recognised as characteristic of a bishop, stole and chasuble of a priest, stole and alb of a deacon[5]. The Gregorian Sacramentary states expressly[6], that no cleric stands in the church at any time with covered head, unless he have an infirmity. "It may be safely asserted that no case has been at all made out for a *general* use of an official head-dress of Christian ministers during the first eight or nine centuries after Christ[7]."

Incense.

The burning of incense, as a natural symbol of praise and prayer rising towards God, and as surrounding offerers and offerings with a sweet odour, seems to have come into use in the fourth century. Incense is permitted by the Apostolical Canons[8] to be presented at the time of offering, but the Pseudo-Dionysius[1], possibly writing in the fourth century, seems to be the first who distinctly testifies to its use in religious ceremonial. Its use is prescribed in ancient liturgies[2], but it is difficult to fix a date for their several component parts. A thurible of gold is said[3] to have been sent by a king of Persia to a church in Antioch about the year 594. The sign of the cross was constantly used both by the ministers in divine service and by lay people. "Make the sign of the cross," says Cyril of Jerusalem[4], "on thy forehead, that the demons, seeing the mark of the King, may tremble and flee away. Make this sign when thou eatest and when thou drinkest, when thou liest down and when thou risest up, when thou speakest and when thou walkest." The kiss of peace[5] was almost everywhere introduced in the Eucharistic celebration; and the faithful, as a mark of reverence, frequently kissed the door-posts of the holy house or the steps of the sanctuary[6], while the officiating ministers kissed the altar and the book of the Gospels[7]. "At an early period we find fountains, or basins supplied with fresh water, near the doors of churches, especially in the East, that they who entered might wash their hands at least before they worshipped[8]." The earliest mention of blessing water, other than that for baptism, seems to be that in the Apostolical Constitutions[9], which describes the practice probably of the latter part of the fourth century. There is no trace of the use of holy water in the West until a much later period. The ceremonial use of lights[10] was probably earlier. Beginning in the assemblies before dawn or in the darkness of the catacombs, the use of

---

[1] Hefele, *Lit. Gewänder*, p. 156.

[2] Gregory Nazianz. *Orat.* 42, quoted by H. T. Armfield in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1567. Compare Celestinus *Ad Episc. Galliæ*, c. 1, in Hardouin i. 1258; Isidore of Seville, *De Off. Eccl.* c. 5.

[3] The ring of Caius, bishop of Rome († 296), was found when his tomb was opened in 1622 (Aringhi, *Roma Subt.* ii. 426; Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 102 f.).

[4] C. Babington in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1805. See also Martigny, *Des Anneaux chez les Premiers Chrétiens et de l'Anneau épiscopal en particulier* (Macon 1858), and *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. *Anneau épiscopal.*

[5] *IV. Conc. Tolet.* c. 28 (A.D. 633).

[6] p. 38, *in Quadragesima.*

[7] R. Sinker, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 1216. But see the instance of Gregory of Nazianzus, *infra*, p. 394.

[8] *Canon* 3 [al. 4].

Sign of the Cross.

The Kiss.

Washing of hands.

Holy Water.

Lights.

---

[1] *Hierarch. Ecclesiast.* c. 3, sec. 2.

[2] e.g. that of St James, *Tetralogia Liturg.* 55.

[3] By Evagrius, *H. E.* vi. 21 § 18.—See R. F. Littledale, *Incense, a Liturgical Essay;* W. E. Scudamore, art. *Incense*, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 830 ff.

[4] *Catech.* iv. 14. Compare Chrysostom *in I. Cor. Hom.* 12; Augustin, *Sermo* 19 *De Sanctis*.

[5] See (e.g.) *Lit. S. Jacobi*, in Daniel's *Codex Liturg.* iv. 104; *S. Marci Ib.* 149.

[6] Ambrose, *Epist.* 33 [al. 14]; Pseudo-Dionys. *Hierarch. Eccl.* c. ii. § 4; Chrysostom *in II. Cor. Hom.* 30, § 1, Prudentius, *Peristeph. Hymn.* ii. 519; xi. 193; Paulinus Nol. *in Natal. S. Felicis, Poem.* vi. 250.

[7] See on the whole subject W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 902 ff.

[8] W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 777.

[9] viii. 29.

[10] W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 993 ff.

lamps was maintained when the services were in the light of day on account of their symbolism and their festive character[1]. There are also traces as early as the fourth century of the practice of maintaining an ever-burning lamp in the sanctuary[2]. *Posture of Prayer.* Kneeling was the usual posture of prayer in the churches, except on Sundays and in the season between Easter and Pentecost, when it was desired to express exulting joy rather than humiliation, and so the faithful prayed standing. The praying figures of the Roman catacombs are represented standing with arms expanded and hands open[3]. *Turning to the East.* All faces were turned towards the East[4], where the sun arose, the natural symbol of the Light of the World.

Music. In early times the voices of the congregation had no doubt taken a large share in the responsive portion of the service, but as the music came to be more elaborate it fell more and more into the hands of the trained singers who formed the choir. The Council of Laodicea[5] would indeed have confined all singing in church to these. The singing consisted either of sentences chanted by the lay people in response to the clergy, or of psalms or psalm-like compositions chanted in alternate strains by a choir divided into two bands. *Antiphonal Chanting at Antioch,* The latter method is believed to have been introduced, perhaps after the example of the Syrians, by Flavian and Diodorus about the year 350 at Antioch, whence it spread rapidly throughout the world[6]. *at Milan.* This kind of music was brought into use by Ambrose at Milan to cheer the hearts of the faithful under the oppression of the Arian empress Justina[7], and soon spread over the Western Church. Augustin however somewhat dreaded the concord of sweet sounds[8], thinking that he was sometimes more moved by the music than by the matter of what he heard; and he says that Athanasius preferred a simple monotone to more elaborate music. Jerome[1] was indignant with the operatic singers of his time, and Chrysostom[2] did not like the devil's tunes to be applied to the songs of angels.

---

[1] In earlier times the kindling of useless lights gave much offence. See Tertullian, *Apol.* 35 and 46; *De Idolol.* 15; Lactantius, *Instit.* vi. 2.

[2] Epiphanius, *Epist. ad Joann. Hieros.* (*opp.* iv. 2, p. 85, ed. Dindorf); Paulinus Nol. *Carm. Nat.* iii. 98.

[3] *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, pp. 723 ff. and 1463 ff., s. vv. *Genuflexion* and *Oranti.*

[4] *Constt. Apost.* ii. 57, 10; Basil *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 66 [al. 27].

[5] *Can.* 15 (c. A.D. 370).

[6] Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. 24, § 9; Basil *Epist.* 207, *ad Clericos Neocæsar.*

[7] Augustin, *Confessiones*, ix. 7.

[8] *u. s.* x. 32.

Hour-offices.

3. Besides the Eucharistic celebrations, the faithful had also meetings for worship of another kind. We have already seen[3] that before the end of the third century, hours of prayer were prescribed for the devout; in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries the hour-system was developed so that seven hours were observed[4]. The Eastern and Western offices for the several hours, widely as they now differ, probably owe their origin to a common source. The earliest form "appears to have consisted in the recitation of psalms, together with prayers and hymns, but with no lessons; and to have been designed for use during the night and in the early morning. SS. Basil[5] and Chrysostom and others often speak of these services. The origin of these prayers has been traced[6] with much probability to the 'Eighteen Prayers' used in the Jewish synagogue....The earliest form of the Roman office appears to have consisted solely of the psalter, so distributed as to be recited once a week. At the end of the appointed number of psalms for the daily office *Pater Noster* was said[7]. This seems to have constituted the entire office, which contained no lessons, hymns, or collects...Lessons were in early times only read at the mass...The nocturnal office of the Eastern Church and the Mozarabic matins contain no lessons at the present time[8]." But the Council of Laodicea[9] (about A.D. 360) enjoined that in assemblies for worship the psalms should not be said continuously, but that after each psalm there should be a lection, and this only from Canonical Scripture; and in Cassian's[10] time we find that the custom of reading two Scripture lessons between every twelve psalms was an immemorial

Psalter.

Lections.

---

[1] *In Epist. ad Ephes.* v. 19.

[2] *Hom.* 1 *in illud Vidi dominum*, p. 97 E.

[3] p. 158.

[4] The Egyptian practice is described by Cassian *Institut.* ii. c. 1—4; for the Western, see Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. IV. and *De Antiq. Monachorum Ritibus.*

[5] See especially, *Epist.* 63 *ad Neocæsar.*

[6] P. Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, I. 64 ff.

[7] Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Virginitate.*

[8] H. J. Hotham in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1444 ff.

[9] cc. 17 and 60.

[10] *Institut.* II. 4 and 6, written about A.D. 416.

custom with the monks of Egypt. St Benedict[1] in the offices which he instituted prescribed no lesson during the short nights of summer, but during the winter half of the year there were to be three lections, and these not only from Scripture, but from those doctors of the Church who were in the highest repute. The elaborate system of hour-offices ultimately formed could naturally only be kept up in a religious house.

Reading of Holy Scripture.

If lections did not from the first form part of the non-eucharistic office, the reading of Scripture was at any rate highly commended. It was the mark of a good Christian to be familiar with Holy Scripture[2]. Copies of the Bible were commonly on sale[3], and rooms were provided in churches to which those who would might retire to meditate on God's law[4]. Such teachers as Chrysostom and Augustin rejected with indignation the excuses of the lay people, who alleged that they had no time to read the Scriptures, or that they were unable to understand them. The former, in fact, traces the corruptions of the Church to the prevailing ignorance of Scripture[5].

Rogations, 452.

Litanies or "Rogationes," processions, that is, about the fields, with supplications for fruitful seasons and for freedom from pestilence and famine, were instituted by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, in the year 452, on the three days immediately preceding Ascension Day[6].

Marriage.

4. Marriage[7], signifying to us as it does the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church[8], has from primitive times received the blessing of the Christian ministry. The anxious care of the Church for the sacredness of family life caused it to forbid the union of near kindred whether by blood or by marriage[9], while in some

---

[1] Ch. 9. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 951, s. v. *Lection.*

[2] Jerome, *Epist.* 107 § 12.

[3] Augustin *in Ps.* 36, i. § 2.

[4] Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 321.

[5] *Proœm. in Epist. ad Rom.* See Neander, iii. 377 ff.

[6] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistt.* v. 14; vii. 1; Gregory of Tours, ii. 34. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1809.

[7] C. F. Stäudlin, *Geschichte der Vorstellungen u. Lehre von der Ehe;* Bingham's *Antiq.* Bk. 22; Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus,* i. ix. 3; A. J. Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* Bd. 6, Th. 2; J. M. Neale, *Eastern Church, Introduction,* p. 1011 ff.; F. Meyrick in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1092 ff.; J. H. Kurtz, *Handbuch der K.-G.* § 278.

[8] The word "sacramentum," the Vulgate rendering of μυστήριον in Eph. v. 32, is frequently applied to marriage. See Augustin, *De Nupt. et Concup.* i. 11.

[9] *Conc. Agath.* c. 61 (A.D. 506); *Epaon.* c. 30 (A.D. 517).

cases it recognised the validity of unions which the state did not sanction, as, for instance, those between slave and free[1]. Marriages of Catholics with heathens, Jews or heretics were naturally discouraged, and were punished by a period of penance. Adultery of either husband or wife was generally recognised as a ground of divorce, and also unnatural crimes and apostasy from the faith. Remarriage of persons who had been divorced was permitted by some authorities[2], but in the end came to be forbidden even to the innocent party[3].

Ceremonies. Nuptial Mass.

Prayers and benedictions for the Mass which accompanied marriage are found in the Gelasian Sacramentary[4]; but no account of the marriage ceremonies of the West, which differed in some points from those of the East, seems to be found earlier than that of Pope Nicholas I. in the ninth century, who describes to the Bulgarians[5] the immemorial usage of the Latin Church—a usage which probably dates from an earlier period than the sixth century. With us, he says, no band of gold or silver, or of any other metal, is placed on the heads of the contracting parties in the marriage ceremony. We have, first, the betrothal, an engagement to contract marriage at a future time, entered into with the full consent of the parties themselves and of those in whose power they are, their parents or guardians. The bridegroom gives earnest (arrhae) to the bride by placing a ring on her finger, and, either then or at some other time appointed, hands to the bride, in the presence of witnesses summoned for the purpose, a formal contract to provide the dowry mutually agreed upon. In the church, they present themselves with the oblations which they are to offer to God by the hand of the priest, and not till then do they receive the sacred veil and the benediction, as the first pair received a blessing in Paradise. Those who marry a second time however do not receive the veil. On leaving the church there are placed on

Betrothal.

Ring.

Dowry. Oblations.

Veiling and Benediction.

---

[1] It is to such cases that *I. Conc. Tolet.* c. 17 (A.D. 398), which seems to sanction concubinage, refers.

[2] *Ambrosiaster* [Hilary] in 1 Cor. vii. 15; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 59, c. 4. Augustin (*De Fide et Opere c.* 19) is doubtful.

[3] *Codex Eccl. Afric.* c. 102; Innocent I. *ad Exsuperium*, c. 6, in Hardouin I. 1005. See H. Hammond *On Polygamy and Divorces*, in *Works*, I. 447 ff. (Lond. 1774), and E. B. Pusey in *Library of the Fathers*, x. 443 ff.

[4] III. 52, vol. 74, p. 1213 ff. Migne.

[5] Hardouin *Conc.* v. 354.

Crowns. Exhortation.

Mutual Consent.

their heads crowns which are kept there for the purpose; and, the nuptial rites being thus completed, they are exhorted, with God's help, to lead a life of unity for ever after. These are, the pope says, the principal ceremonies in marriage, though there are others in use which he does not think it necessary to specify; and he lays it down very clearly that nothing is absolutely necessary for a valid marriage but the mutual consent of the parties to be married, quoting Chrysostom to the same effect[1].

Greek Crowning.

Joining of Hands.

The Greek practice, with which the pope contrasts his own, was to place crowns on the heads of the bride and bridegroom soon after the service began. The use of the ring seems almost universal, but while in the West the bridegroom alone gives a ring to the bride as earnest in the betrothal ceremony, in the East the bride also gives a ring to the bridegroom[2]. The crowning is so important a rite in the Greek Church that it gives name to the marriage-service[3], while in the Latin Church it seems little more than a country-custom of putting a peculiar head-dress on the wedded pair when they left the church. The pope does not mention the joining of hands, but it is clear that this was a usual observance both in East and West[4]. The veil spoken of is not the bride's veil, but a purple covering spread over both bride and bridegroom at the time of the benediction as a token of their union[5].

Care of Sick and Dying.

5. As may readily be supposed, the Christian Church did not neglect the sick and dying. Not only did the mini-

---

[1] *Homil.* 32 *in Matthæum.* "The mediæval formula *Ego conjungo vos in matrimonium*...has not a little contributed to form wrong ideas on the subject of marriage with the rites of religion, and to give credit to the notion that the bond of matrimony depends on the authority of the priest. The Council of Trent (*Sess.* xxiv. *De Reform. Matr.* c. 1) mentions the formula without making it obligatory." Duchesne, *Culte Chrét.* p. 415 n. 1.

[2] Ἀρραβωνίζεται. See the Ἀκολουθία ἐπὶ μνήστροις in Daniel *Codex Lit.* iv. 518.

[3] Ἀκολουθία τοῦ στεφανώματος, Daniel u. s. 520. There are allusions to this practice in Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 8; Evagrius, *H. E.* vi. 1; Gregory of Tours, i. 42; *Acta S. Amatoris* in *Acta SS.* May 1, quoted by Martene, *R. A.* ii. 125.

[4] It is alluded to by Tertullian, *De Virgg. Velandis* c. 11, and by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epist.* 57 *ad Anysium.*

[5] St Ambrose (*Exhort. ad Virg.* c. 6) derives nubere from this veil or "cloud." See also *De Virginitate*, c. 15; *Epist.* 19; Siricius *ad Div. Episcop.* in Hardouin *Conc.* i. 852; Isidore Hisp. *De Div. Off.* ii. c. 12, quoted by Martene, *R. A.* ii. 125.

sters of the Church visit the sick[1], offer prayer with and for them, lay hands upon them, and administer Holy Communion to them, but they also, after the Apostolic precept and example, anointed them with oil in the name of the Lord[2]. Innocent I. early in the fifth century seems to have been the first to apply the word "sacramentum" to this rite, and it was not until a much later period that it came to be regarded simply as a safeguard for one actually on the point of death and to be called Extreme Unction. According to the Pseudo-Areopagite[3] the body of the departed was anointed with oil in a quasi-sacramental manner, but this testimony is unsupported, and probably represents the writer's sense of what would be fitting, rather than the fact. The wreath often placed on the head of the corpse was probably intended simply as an emblem of victory over death, but found objectors as savouring of paganism. The superstitious custom of placing a consecrated host within the lips of a corpse or in the coffin was condemned by several councils[4]. Violent expressions of grief, tearing of the garments, the use of sackcloth and ashes, the bearing of cypress-branches, and the like, were held to belong rather to those who sorrowed without hope than to those who had Christ in them, the hope of glory[5]. The funeral-procession was almost always in the full light of day, though lamps and torches were borne in it, as well as branches of olive and palm. The philosophic emperor Julian forbade funerals in the daytime, especially on the ground that to meet them was of ill omen[6]. From the fourth century onward

Unction.

Anointing of Corpse (?).

Wreath.

Vehement grief deprecated.

Funerals in daytime.

---

[1] Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, c. 27.

[2] On this rite, which has been the subject of much controversy, see Mabillon, *De Extrema Unctione* in the Preface to *Acta SS. Ben.* Sæc. I.; Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. I. c. 7; J. Dallæus, *De Duobus Latinorum ex unctione Sacramentis;* C. Kortholt *Diss. de extrema Unctione*, in *Diss. Anti-Baronianæ*, VI. 163 ff.; W. E. Scudamore in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 2004.

[3] *Hierarch. Eccl.* c. 7. On the whole subject of Burial, see Martene, *De Rit. Eccl. Antiq.* lib. iii. cc. 12—15; L. A. Muratori, *De Vet. Christ. Sepulchris* in *Anecdota* I. *Dis.* 17, and *De Antiq. Chr. Sep.* in *Anecdota Græca*, Dis. 3; Bingham's *Antiq.* Bk. 23, c. 3; *Report on Burial Rites* to Lower House of Convocation, 1877; *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. *Burial* and *Obsequies of the Dead.*

[4] III. *Carthag.* c. 6 (A.D. 397); *Trullan.* c. 83 (A.D. 692).

[5] *Conc. III. Tolet.* c. 22 (A.D. 589).

[6] *Codex Theodos.* IX. 17, 5.

attempts seem to have been made to bury as near as possible to a church, for an edict of Gratian repeats the old law against burying in cities, and expressly provides that no exception is to be made for places hallowed by the remains of apostles or martyrs[1]. The custom of holding a banquet, or celebrating the Eucharist at the tomb[2], still lingered in the fourth century. A custom arose in early times of placing lights on graves. This, which seems to have been derived from paganism, was condemned by the Council of Elvira[3], and in the early part of the fifth century was attacked by Vigilantius, to whom Jerome[4] replied in rather a half-hearted way, pleading that it was a practice of simple-minded people who meant no harm by it.

Ordination, who disqualified for.

6. Great care was exercised in the choice of persons to be ordained[5]. Some classes were altogether excluded, as catechumens, persons newly baptized, baptized privately in severe sickness, or by heretics, or who after baptism had lived unworthily of their vocation; penitents; those who had been twice married; possessed or epileptic persons, or such as had suffered any bodily mutilation; all who exhibited themselves on the stage or in the circus; all slaves, and even freedmen who were not clear of every obligation towards their former masters; all whose condition of life did not afford them the necessary freedom to devote themselves to the service of the Church, as soldiers or members of the civil service. The state forbade those who were responsible for the payment of the imperial taxes—the curiales—to be withdrawn from this duty by ordination[6]. In early times a bishop seems not to have been ordained under the age of fifty years; Justinian's legislation required thirty-five; in practice, it was held sufficient if a bishop-elect had attained thirty years. Strict enquiry was made as to a candidate's soundness in the faith, his blamelessness of life, and his social con-

---

[1] *Codex Theodos.* IX. 17, 6.

[2] See p. 159.

[3] *Can.* 34, probably about A.D. 325, but possibly earlier.

[4] *C. Vigilantium*, § 8.

[5] J. Morinus, *De Sacris Ordinationibus;* F. Halierius *De Sacris Electionibus et Ordinationibus* (Romæ 1749); Martene, *De Rit. Eccl. Antiquis*, lib. I. c. 8; Bingham's *Antiq.* Bks. 2 and 3; E. Hatch in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.vv. *Orders, Holy; Ordinal; Ordination.*

[6] This, with other conditions imposed by the imperial government, is found in Justinian's *Novella* 123 (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* 72. p. 1019 ff.).

Title.

dition. A provincial council[1] in the sixth century decreed that no one should be ordained to the priesthood who had not served a year at least as lector or subdeacon. No one was ordained except to a particular church, his title to orders[2]. Among the few exceptions to this rule were Paulinus and Jerome. The clergy in the period of which we are now treating were probably rarely educated for their work in a school of theology[3]. Such schools do not appear to have existed in the West, and in the East those which arose at Alexandria, Antioch, and elsewhere, seem to have come to an end or lost their influence in the troubles of the fifth and sixth centuries. So long as the great pagan schools, such as those of Athens and Alexandria, continued to flourish, many young men of Christian families sought in them general culture and philosophical training, while they afterwards specially prepared themselves for the priesthood in the subordinate offices of the Church or in monastic retirement. When, however, it became customary for the clergy of a city to live together in one dwelling under the superintendence of the bishop, such clergy-houses commonly became seminaries in which candidates for orders were trained for their future work.

Training of the Clergy.

Rites of Ordination.

The ceremonies which were used in admitting a person to the office for which he had been chosen were mainly two; the imposition of hands, with prayer for the special grace required; and the formal delivery of the insignia and instruments of office. The laying on of hands with a view to the conferring of spiritual gifts was in most cases the privilege of the episcopal order only, but the presbyters who were present also laid their hands on the head of one who was being ordained presbyter, and there was no laying on of hands in the admission to office of subdeacons and others who filled the lower ranks in the service of the Church[4]. The delivery, to one admitted to an office, of the instruments which he was to use was a natural inauguration of his new functions. A reader had to read; the book was delivered to him, and he read[1]. A subdeacon had to wash the bishop's hands; a pitcher and towel were delivered to him, as well as the chalice and paten of which he was to have charge[2]. A deacon had, in southern countries, to drive away insects from the oblations upon the altar; a fan for this purpose was delivered to him[3]. The delivery of the eucharistic vessels to a presbyter is not found in the oldest Western ordinals[4]. Gregory of Nazianzus tells us[5] that when he was made bishop he was vested by his ordainers in a long tunic or alb and a mitre, but scarcely any other allusion to the custom of vesting a candidate is found until a much later date[6]. A peculiar ceremony in the ordination of a bishop was the holding of the book of the gospels over his head by two bishops while he received the benediction and the imposition of the hands of the other bishops[7]. The use of chrism in ordination is first alluded to by Gregory the Great[8]. From early times the clergy were forbidden to wear long hair, and "in the latter part of the sixth century the tonsure seems to have become definitely established as a mark of separation between clergy and laity[9]." The shape of the tonsure varied in different Churches.

---

[1] Bracarense I. [al. II.] c. 20 (A.D. 563), in Hardouin *Conc.* iii. 352.

[2] *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* pp. 1486, 1556, 1966. The rule is found in *Conc. Chalced.* c. 6 (A.D. 451).

[3] Justinian (*Nov.* 123) insists on the necessity of training for the clergy. That it had been neglected appears from his words, "alii [clerici] ne ipsas quidem sacræ oblationis et sacri baptismatis preces scire dicuntur."

[4] The *Constt. Apostt.* however (viii. 21, 22), prescribe imposition of hands for subdeacon and reader.

THE CYCLE OF FESTIVALS. *Socrates on Festivals.*

II. Socrates[10] the historian, noticing the diversity of practice in different regions with regard to the observance of the Paschal festival, points out that the observance of special days and months and years had no Scriptural authority. The Mosaic law had (he says) no direct bearing upon the Christian Church, and the ceremonies and observances which he saw in actual use had arisen, for the most part, simply from local use and wont. The cycle of festivals satisfied a craving of human nature. As for the Apostles, they did not aim at giving rules for feast days, but at promoting piety and righteousness. This is true; the end of the observance of special days and hours is the maintaining and raising of the spiritual life of the Church; but in time festivals and fasts of universal observance acquire a sacredness which few dispute.

---

[1] *Statuta Eccl. Antiqua*, c. 8.

[2] *Ib.* c. 5.

[3] Euchologion, p. 253. See Martene, *De Rit. Ecl. Antiq.* I. iv. 8, § 5 and viii. 11, ordo 19; E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 675 f.

[4] *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1508.

[5] *Orat.* X. *in seipsum*, p. 241.

[6] *Conc. Tolet.* IV. c. 28 (A.D. 633).

[7] *Stat. Eccl. Antiq.* c. 2.

[8] *Expos. in* I. *Regum*, c. 4.

[9] *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1491.

[10] *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22, p. 292.

The Week.

1. The Lord's Day and the "stations" of Wednesday and Friday were already observed before the end of the third century. Constantine is said[1] to have closed the law-courts and forbidden labour on the Friday as well as on the Sunday, the Wednesday being probably always a day less strictly observed. Socrates[2] notes, as a primeval custom of the Alexandrians, that on the Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures are read and expositions given in the churches; that, in short, everything belonging to the solemn assembly is done, except the actual celebration. Everywhere, in the early part of the fifth century, there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist on the Sabbath (Saturday), excepting at Alexandria and Rome, where a local custom forbade it; while in the parts of Egypt bordering on Alexandria and in the Thebaid the inhabitants had a custom on that day differing from that of the rest of Christendom; they partook of the Eucharist in the evening after a sumptuous repast[3]. In the West, however, and particularly at Rome, Saturday became a fast-day, and had no celebration of the Eucharist[4]. Four times in the year, once in each of the four seasons of the year (quatuor tempora), three days of the week, our Ember Days, were observed with special solemnity. This custom appears to be peculiar to the Roman Patriarchate, and not to be older than the fifth century[5].

Ember Days.

Date of Easter.

2. The disputes as to the proper time of celebrating Easter still continued in the period with which we are now concerned. At the Council of Nicæa it was agreed that all the Churches should conform to the use which was observed in Egypt, Africa, Italy, and the West generally[6]. It is not clear that the council laid down any rule for the determination of Easter-Day[7]; certainly

Nicene arrangement.

---

[1] Sozomen, I. 8, p. 20.

[2] v. 22, p. 295. This resembles the custom of the English Church, of saying the "Ante-communion" Service, and preaching, when no celebration follows.

[3] Socrates, v. 22, p. 295; Sozomen, VII. 19, p. 308. This peculiarity was probably derived from the Jews, whose custom was to "eat the fat and drink the sweet" on a day which was "holy to the Lord." See Nehemiah viii. 10.

[4] *Conc. Elib.* c. 26 (title); Duchesne, *Culte Chrétien*, p. 222.

[5] Duchesne, *u. s.* p. 223.

[6] Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 10; Socrates, i. 9; Eusebius, *Vita Constant*, iii. 18.

[7] Ambrose however (*Epist.* 23 *ad*

it did not put an end to the controversy. The Quartodeciman practice still required to be repressed at the time of the Council of Constantinople[1] in the year 381, and, indeed, did not die out until the sixth century. *Rome, Alexandria.* Even Rome and Alexandria often celebrated their Easter on a different day. This difference arose partly from the fact that the two Churches used different cycles for the computation of the day of the Paschal full-moon, partly from the Romans holding that Easter-Day must never fall earlier than the 16th day of the Paschal moon, while the Alexandrians allowed it to be celebrated on the 15th; and the Roman tradition did not allow Easter-Day to fall later than April 21st, while Alexandrian custom extended the Paschal limit to the 25th[2]. *Britain.* The Britons observed Easter-Sunday so early as the 14th day of the Paschal moon, if it so fell according to their antiquated cycle[3]—a practice which became a point of difference between them and the Roman missionaries under Augustin. *Victorius, c. 457.* An important step towards uniformity was made when Victorius of Aquitaine, about A.D. 457, composed a new cycle combining the Alexandrian lunar cycle of nineteen years with the solar cycle of twenty-eight years, thus forming the Victorian Period of 532 years. Still, discrepancies occurred[4], until the matter was finally set at rest by the Roman abbat Dionysius Exiguus, *Dionysius Exiguus, 532.* the same who introduced the era "Anno Domini" into Chronology. He employed the Victorian Period in the Easter Table which he constructed, and in fact seems to have done little more than adapt the Victorian calculations to his own era of the Nativity. The Table of Dionysius was received almost universally in East and West, and from this time we have little controversy about the date of Easter-Day, except where, as in Britain, the Roman missionaries found a Church standing on older ways than their own.

Lent. The forty days preceding Easter are mentioned as days

Episc. per Æmil.), believed that the Council did lay down a rule. See Butcher, *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, p. 267.

[1] Canon 7.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscript. Christianæ*, I. lxxxii.—xcvii.; Br. Krusch, *Der 84-jährige Ostercyclus u. seine Quellen* (Leipzig 1880); *Bulletin Critique*, I. 243.

[3] Bede, *H. E.* II. 2.

[4] Br. Krusch, *Die Einführung des Griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande*, in *Neues Archiv*, IX. 99 ff.

of special observance from the fourth century[1], and are regarded as the time for preparing candidates for baptism, penitents for absolution, and the faithful generally for joining worthily in the Paschal festival. One of the observances of such a season was naturally fasting, but the nature and extent of this varied considerably in different places. The extension of the Lenten fast in the Alexandrian patriarchate may be traced in the Festal Letters of Athanasius from the year 329 to 347. At the earliest date he speaks of the *season* of the Forty Days and the *week* of fasting; at the latest, of the Forty Days' fast and the Holy Week before Easter[2]. At Rome only three weeks before Easter were at this time observed by fasting, and even in these the Sabbath and the Lord's Day[3] were not fasts. In the Church of Antioch and its dependencies the Forty Days seem to have been distinguished from Holy Week[4], while at Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Rome, Holy Week was included in them[5]. Towards the middle of the fifth century the Churches generally agreed in observing specially the six weeks preceding Easter. Deducting Sundays, this period included only thirty-six days[6] of actual fasting—a circumstance which led to the addition to the Lent fast of the four days preceding the First Sunday in Lent. This addition was, however, not made, in Rome at least, until after the time of Gregory the Great.

Holy Week.

The week which immediately precedes Easter Day, the emphatically "Holy" Week, was specially observed from a very early period. The term "Palm Sunday" does not seem to be applied to the Lord's Day which begins this week by any earlier authority than Isidore of Seville[7], in the early part of the seventh century. On the Thursday in this week, our Maundy Thursday, the Institution of the Holy Eucharist was specially commemorated, and in some Churches the faithful communicated on this day[8] after taking their evening meal—a reminiscence of the circumstances of the original Institution. Good Friday, the day on which the Lord's Crucifixion was commemorated, was a day for the strictest fasting and for every display of sadness and mourning. On this day there was no Eucharist[1]. At Jerusalem, the true Cross was exposed to the faithful, who on this day alone were permitted to approach and kiss it. On Easter-Eve the joy of the approaching festival began to appear; troops of neophytes were buried with Christ in baptism, and numbers of the faithful passed the night in the churches waiting for His Resurrection[2]. Abundant lamps were lighted[3], and in some places fires were kindled[4]. The introduction of the blessing of the Paschal Taper is attributed[5] to Pope Zosimus, early in the fifth century. The Day of the Resurrection itself was celebrated with every sign of joy and exultation, which was prolonged in some degree to the Feast of Pentecost. From the middle of the fourth century the fortieth day after Easter, Holy Thursday, was observed as a commemoration of the Lord's Ascension[6]. In the East the Manifestation of the Lord, both at His birth and at His baptism, was celebrated on the sixth of January in the fourth century[7], while at the same period in Rome and its dependencies the twenty-fifth of December was observed as the day of Christ's Nativity[8], but the Festival of Jan. 6 seems to have been then unknown there. In the fifth century the observance of the 25 Dec. as the Nativity had spread into the East, and that of the 6 Jan. as the Epiphany, the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles and also His Baptism, had extended into the West, so that both festivals were observed by almost the whole Church. The first mention of the Epiphany in the West appears to be in the year 360, when Julian, not yet a declared pagan, attended the Church services on that day at Vienne in Gaul[1]. Forty days after the commemoration of the Lord's Nativity followed that of His Presentation in the Temple. On the octave of the Nativity was commemorated His Circumcision, when the name Jesus was given. The 25 December was probably chosen for the commemoration of Christ's birth because it was, according to the Roman Calendar then current, the winter solstice. The day on which the sun, as it were new-born, turns again towards us was thought a fitting epoch to commemorate the advent of the Sun of Righteousness.

---

[1] *Conc. Laodicenum*, c. 49 ff. (c. A.D. 370).

[2] Duchesne, *Culte Chrét.* 232.

[3] Socrates, v. 22, p. 294.

[4] Chrysostom *in Genesin, Hom.* 30, c. 1; *Const. Apost.* v. 13. See Duchesne, *u. s.* 233.

[5] Duchesne, *u. s.*

[6] This was regarded as the tithe of the year; see Cassian *Collat.* xxi. 25.

[7] *De Officiis*, I. 28.

[8] *Conc. Carthag.* III. c. 29 (A.D. 397); Augustin, *Epist.* 118 *ad Januar.* c. 7; Chrysostom, *Epist.* 125, p. 683.

---

[1] At what date it became customary to celebrate no Eucharist on this day is uncertain, but none is mentioned in the directions for the observance of Good Friday given in *Apost. Const.* v. 18. Duchesne (*Culte*, 238) thinks that the early portion of the Roman Liturgy for this day preserves the ancient type of a service without consecration. The Mass of Presanctified is not earlier than the seventh or eighth century.

[2] *Const. Apost.* v. 19.

[3] Cyril, *Catech.* I. 15; Eusebius, *Vita Const.* IV. 22.

[4] Martene, *De Rit. Antiq.* IV. 24. 3; G. T. Stokes in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 204, s. v. *Patricius*.

[5] By the *Liber Pontificalis*, referred to by Duchesne, *Culte*, 242.

[6] See H. Browne, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 145.

[7] Cassian, *Collat.* x. 2.

[8] The *Liberian Calendar* (A.D. 336) has the entry: "viii kal. jan. natus Christus in Betleem Judeæ," but no notice of the Epiphany on Jan. 6 (Duchesne, *Culte*, 248). See R. Sinker in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Christmas*.

Festivals of Scriptural Saints.

3. From an early age, commemorations of the principal saints mentioned in Scripture came to have special days assigned to them. A commemoration of the Holy Virgin seems to have been associated with that of the Lord's Birth[2]. Rome does not seem to have adopted any festival in honour of the Virgin before the seventh century[3]. St Stephen, St Peter, St James, St John and St Paul were, at any rate in some Churches, commemorated between Christmas and New-Year's Day[4]. And not only these, but the other Apostles, came, as might be expected, to receive special commemorations in every land which the sound of their voices had reached. But besides the Scriptural saints, a crowd of names of martyrs and others who had served Christ in their generation came to be held in great honour and venerated with special service on special days.

Other Saints.

Honours to Saints departed.

When after struggle and persecution the flock of Christ obtained rest, it was natural that they should look back with love and veneration to the heroes of the faith who had fallen in the great fight. From the first, martyrs and confessors had been held in reverence; devout men carried them to their burial and commemorated their death-days; but in time of calm those who had braved the storm came to be even more honoured.

---

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxi. 2.

[2] Duchesne, *Culte Chrét.* 258; R. Sinker in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* 1139 ff.

[3] Duchesne, *u. s.* 259.

[4] Gregory Nyssen. *In Laudem Basilii*, in *Opera*, iii. 479; Syriac *Menology* (ed. Wright) in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. viii. pp. 45 ff. 423 ff. (1865-6).

The belief arose that by making our requests known to the martyrs, who enjoy the presence of the Deity, we might the better make them known unto God. We can put no bonds, said Jerome[1], on the Apostles; they who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth are of course present wherever He is. Gregory of Nazianzus[2] prays the martyr whom he is eulogizing to look down from above upon his people, and to join in the pastoral care of the flock. Sulpicius Severus[3], grieving for the loss of St Martin, comforts himself and his friend Aurelius with the thought that the departed will be present with them as they speak of him and stand over them as they pray; that he will give them glimpses of his glory and guard them with his perpetual benediction. St Basil[4] regards the local martyrs as guarding the country from the onslaughts of enemies, though their power is not limited to the defence of one region only. He that is in tribulation, he says, has recourse to the martyrs, and he that is in wealth runs to them no less; the one to seek help in his misfortunes, the other that his prosperity may be continued. The pious mother praying for her children, the wife supplicating for the return of her absent husband or the recovery of the sick—these trust that their prayers may be granted by the aid of the martyrs. Martyrs coöperate with our prayers and are our most powerful ambassadors. And the poets[5], as might perhaps be expected, go even beyond the orators in the influence which they ascribe to the saints in glory.

Prayers for Saints and Martyrs.

Up to the fifth century prayers were made in the liturgy for saints and martyrs as well as for others who have departed in the faith of Christ. "We make our commemoration," says Epiphanius[6], "both for the righteous and for sinners. For sinners, beseeching God to have mercy upon them; for the righteous, fathers and patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and evangelists, martyrs and confessors, bishops and anchorites, and the whole order of saints, that we may distinguish the Lord Jesus Christ from those who are ranked merely as men,...remembering that the Lord is not to be placed on an equality with any man." To this correspond the intercessions in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions[1], and in some of the Nestorian liturgies[2], which probably in this respect retain the form which they had before the schism. On the other hand, in the liturgy described by Cyril of Jerusalem[3], in that which bears the name of St James, and generally in the later liturgies, commemoration is made of the Virgin Mary and of the saints "in order that by their prayers and intercessions we may obtain mercy[4]." It would be a wrong, says St Augustine[5], to pray for the martyrs whose intercession we seek.

---

[1] *Adv. Vigilantium.*

[2] *Orat.* 18 *in Laud. Cypriani*, p. 286.

[3] *Epist.* II. *de Obitu B. Martini*, p. 145 (ed. Halm).

[4] *Hom.* 19 *in XL. Martyres*, c. 8.

[5] See especially the poems of Prudentius and of Paulinus of Nola on the festivals of martyrs.

[6] *Hæres.* 75, c. 7.

Change in Fifth Century.

The names, whether of those saints whose intercession was asked, or of those for whom the Church on earth interceded, were in ancient times read at the altar from folding tablets, called diptychs. "The authority by which a name was inserted in this list...was, until at least the tenth century, that of the bishop, with (no doubt) the consent of his clergy and people, and, as time went on, of the synod and metropolitan[6]."

The Diptychs.

Further, it came to be thought that prayers offered on the very spot where the body of a saint rested were of greater efficacy than those offered elsewhere. The possession of their bones was a kind of pledge that they would regard the place where they lay and would watch over the lives of those who dwelt there[7]. Reverence is to be paid to all martyrs, but most of all to those whose relics are with us. All help us by their prayers and their pas-

Bodies of Saints.

---

[1] Lib. VIII. c. 12.

[2] Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* II. 620, 633.

[3] *Catech. Mystag.* v. 9.

[4] Neale's *Tetralogia Liturgica*, p. 93.

[5] *Sermo* 17. This passage is quoted by Innocent III., *Decret. Gregor.* III. tit. 41, c. 6, § 2, as "sacra scriptura," to explain the change of "annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio," into "annue nobis, quæsumus, Domine, ut intercessione B. Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio."

[6] A. W. Haddan in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 283. See further Salig, *De Diptychis Veterum*: Donati, *Dei Dittici degli Antichi*; R. Gibbings, *Prælection on the Diptychs* (Dublin, 1864); Bingham, *Antiq.*, bk. XV. ch. 3; Martene, *De Rit. Antiq.*, I. iv. 8, § 7 ff.; R. Sinker, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 560 ff.

[7] Ambrose, *De Viduis*, c. 9.

sion, says a writer of the fifth century[1], but with our own saints we have a kind of intimacy. They abide with us, they watch over us while we are in the body, they receive us when we quit it. When nearness to the remains of the saints was so much desired, it is not wonderful that it was desired to preserve them. In Egypt, where the dead had been embalmed from time immemorial, the custom sprang up of making mummies of the bodies of famous saints, especially of martyrs, paying them the funeral honours due, and then laying them on couches in their own dwellings. St Anthony was shocked at this practice, thinking it right that the bodies of the departed should be laid in tombs, as those of the patriarchs and of the Lord Himself had been[2]. But even where no embalming was attempted, the body of one who had suffered martyrdom or had been distinguished for saintliness of life was regarded as a precious possession. The first to move the bodies of the saintly dead was the emperor Constantine[3], who, to give his new city something of the sanctity which old Rome derived from the remains of St Peter and St Paul, brought over to Constantinople the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy[4]. At a later date such translations were expressly forbidden by a law of Theodosius[5]. The same law forbids the sale of the holy bodies, a practice which had arisen in the latter part of the fourth century. There were even serious conflicts with considerable bloodshed for the possession of the corpses of those who were regarded as martyrs[6]. Unexpected discoveries of the bodies of saints were also not uncommon. Theodoret[7] describes the flocking of the faithful to the magnificent tombs of the martyrs which were everywhere to be found. It was not once or twice a year that they were solemnly visited; many times annually

Egyptian embalming.

Translations.

Law of Theodosius, 386.

Devotions at tombs.

---

[1] Pseudo-Ambrosius (perhaps Maximus of Turin), *Sermo VI. de Sanctis*, quoted by Gieseler, I. 559.

[2] Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, p. 502. Compare Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* cc. 3, 15.

[3] "Quod Constantino primum sub Cæsare factum est." Paulinus, *Poem.* XIX. 321.

[4] Jerome, *c. Vigilantium*, c. 5; Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, I. 4; Theodorus Lector, *H. E.* II. 61.

[5] Theod. *Codex*, IX. tit. 17, l. 7.

[6] Cassian, *Collatio*, VI. c. 1. The monks whose bodies were in this case the object of contention had not fallen in defence of the faith, but had been killed by Arab plunderers. Compare Theodoret, *Hist. Relig.* c. 21.

[7] *Græcarum Affect. Curat.* Disput. 8, p. 921 (ed. Schultze).

high festival was held there, many times a day were hymns sung there to their Lord. There the healthy prayed for the preservation of their health, the sick for recovery, the childless for offspring. They who contemplated a journey prayed the martyrs to be their guides and companions; those who had returned offered thanks which were due. Not that they approached them as gods, but that they supplicated them as godlike men and besought them to become their intercessors. And that they obtained what they sought was manifested by the votive offerings which shewed what cures had been effected; for men offered representations in gold or silver of eyes or feet or hands to commemorate their healing. It was not to be wondered at if the heathen[1] now retorted on the Christians the reproaches which the latter had formerly made against them, of building splendid temples over dead men's bones[2].

Votive offerings.

But far above all other saints was the Mother of the Lord honoured. We have already seen that the application of the epithet "Mother of God" to the Virgin had been a main cause of Nestorianism. But it was not merely the disputes on the Incarnation that gave exceeding dignity to her who was so highly favoured; the ever-increasing reverence for virginity, the feeling that a woman has more ready sympathy than a man and that a mother must be powerful with her son—such considerations as these led men to attach greater efficacy to the intercession of the Virgin than to that of other saints. As Christ was the Mediator between God and man, so she came to be regarded as the mediator between man and Christ. It has been said with some degree of truth that almost everything which the Arians had said of Christ was said of the Virgin in the fifth century. She also, like the Christ of the Arians, was divine though not one with God the Father.

The Virgin Mary.

It came to be believed that St Mary remained a virgin even after the birth of her Divine Son, a theory which earlier ages would probably have rejected as favouring the Docetic notion that the Lord's Body was not composed of

St Mary's ever-virginity.

---

[1] As the emperor Julian, quoted by Cyril, *Adv. Julianum*, x. p. 335; Eunapius, *Vita Ædesii*, p. 65 (ed. Genev. 1616), quoted by Gieseler, I. 566.

[2] Arnobius, *Adv. Nationes*, VI. 6.

Collyridians.

Antidicomarianites, c. 370.

Helvidius, c. 380.

Bonosus and Jovinian,

condemned 390, 392.

solid flesh. Tertullian[1] in fact, an ardent opponent of Gnosticism in all its forms, very evidently regards her as having undergone the lot of all mothers in the birth of her Son, and for this he does not appear to have been blamed. And even Basil[2] the Great in the fourth century admits that the perpetual virginity is no necessary article of Christian faith, though (he says) lovers of Christ cannot endure to hear that the mother of God ever ceased to be a virgin. A strange kind of worship was paid to the Virgin in the middle of the fourth century in Arabia. There certain women who came from Thrace paid her divine honours by offering to her cakes (κολλύριδες)[3], as renegade Jewesses had formerly done to Astarte the queen of heaven[4]. It was probably such extravagance as this which led certain teachers, also in Arabia, whom Epiphanius nicknamed Antidicomarianites[5], to maintain an opinion which was offensive to the Church at large—that St Mary, after bringing forth her first-born[6] Son, bore children to Joseph. And about the year 380 Helvidius[7], who lived in Rome, published a treatise in which he maintained that the Lord's brethren were the sons of Joseph and Mary, and must have found adherents, for the Helvidians are spoken of as a sect or party. Similar views were maintained about the same time by Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, and by Jovinian, who has already been mentioned as denying the special merit of virginity. The latter was condemned by synods held at Rome and at Milan about the year 390, and the former by one assembled at Capua in 392[8].

Angels.

That divine messengers, angels, both do God service in Heaven and succour men on earth has been a pious belief of Christians in all ages of the Church. They were not, however, invoked in the same way as sainted men; there seemed a danger lest Christians should lose the prize of their calling by worshipping of angels[1], and the angels themselves refused adoration when offered[2]. Some kind of supplication was nevertheless addressed to them as the guardians of frail humanity[3], and it seems that in the fourth century churches were dedicated in the names of angels, which were especially visited by votaries who believed that supplications offered there would be most effectual[4].

---

[1] *De Monogamia*, c. 8; *De Carne Christi*, c. 23 and elsewhere.

[2] *Hom. in sanctam Christi generationem*, c. 5 (II. p. 600). Garnier professes to doubt the authenticity of this Homily, but the main argument against it appears to be the occurrence of this very passage.

[3] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 79. The Quini-Sext. Council (Constantinople, A.D. 692) censures those who, after the day of the Lord's Nativity, boiled and distributed to each other fine flour (σεμίδαλιν) in honour of the child-bed of the Virgin-Mother.

[4] Jeremiah, xliv. 19.

[5] Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 78.

[6] "The prominent idea conveyed to a Jew by the term 'first-born' would not be the birth of other children, but the special consecration of this one." Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 257 (first ed.).

[7] Our information about Helvidius is derived almost wholly from Jerome's treatise *Adv. Helvidium*.

[8] Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, II. 47 f.

Calendars.

4. When annual commemorations became numerous it was necessary to draw up lists of them in order to their proper observance. Of such calendars or heortologia the earliest which remain to us are the two published by Bucherius[5] and often known by his name. Of these the first contains a record of the burial-days (depositiones) of the Roman bishops from Lucius (A.D. 253) to Julius I. (A.D. 352); the second, the burial-days of the martyrs of the Roman Church. This latter De Rossi[6] takes to be a complete account of all the immovable festivals observed in the Church of Rome at the time when the list was drawn up; i.e. in the fourth century. They amount to twenty-four. There is also extant a calendar of the Carthaginian Church, which appears to be of the fifth or sixth century[7]. There were no doubt similar documents everywhere which have not come down to us, containing the names of local saints and festivals, in addition to those which were observed throughout the Church. Some of the defenders of Christianity frankly pointed to the long array of saints' days in the Christian calendar as the equivalents for the old pagan holidays. "Our Lord," says Theodoret to the heathen[8], "has given us our own dead as

Christian Festivals substituted for pagan.

---

[1] θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, Col. ii. 11.

[2] προσκύνησις, Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9.

[3] Ambrose, *De Viduis*, c. 9; "obsecrandi sunt angeli qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt."

[4] Didymus, *De Trinitate*, II. 7, quoted by Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, II. 448.

[5] *De Doctrina Temporum*, c. 15, pp. 266 ff. (Antwerp, 1635). They are also printed by De Smedt, *Introductio ad Hist. Eccl.*, pp. 512 ff. See *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. vv. *Calendar* and *Martyrology*.

[6] *Roma Sotterranea*, I. 126.

[7] This was discovered by Mabillon, and is given in Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum*, pp. 618 f., and in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* XIII. 1219.

[8] *Græcarum Affect. Curat.* Disp. 8 (IV. 923, ed. Schultze).

Ch. XIII.

substitutes for your gods; these He has brought to nothing, to those He has allotted their honours. Instead of the Pandia, the Diasia, the Dionysia, and the rest of your holidays, there are celebrated public feasts[1] of Peter and Paul and Thomas and Sergius and our other martyrs." Chrysostom[2] pointed out that the spirit of the several festivals should animate our whole life, not special days only. "We keep a particular day, the Epiphany, in memory of the Lord's manifestation upon earth, but He should be manifest to us every day; we keep our Paschal festival in memory of the Lord's Death and Resurrection, but whenever we eat the Bread and drink the Cup we shew forth the Lord's Death; we keep our Pentecost in memory of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, but we hope to have Christ always present with us through the Spirit."

Holy Places.

5. Very nearly connected with the reverence paid to the bodies of saints is the sacredness attributed to the places where they had lived and moved, especially to those which had been pressed by the feet of the Son of God. The empress Helena set the example of pilgrimage to Palestine for the sake of visiting the holy places where the Lord had been born, died, and risen again[3]. Churches were built over the spots where the Lord was born and where He was laid in the tomb[4]. It was even believed that the actual Cross upon which the Lord had suffered had been found buried in the earth[5]. From this time pilgrimages be-

Helena in Palestine, 326.

The Holy Cross,

---

[1] δημοθοινίαι.

[2] *Hom.* I. *in Pentecosten*, c. 1.

[3] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III. 42 ff.

[4] *Ib.* III. 25 ff. See also the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) in Wesseling's *Vetera Itineraria*, p. 593. The authenticity of the spot now covered by the church of the Holy Sepulchre has been assailed by E. Robinson (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*), and J. Fergusson (*Topography of Jerusalem*), the latter of whom regards the Dome of the Rock as the church built by Constantine. It is ably defended by G. Williams (*The Holy City*, with an essay on the church by Prof. Willis). There is a summary of the arguments in Stanley's *Palestine*, c. 14, pp. 453 ff. Much has been elucidated of late years by the researches of the Palestine Exploration Fund; see W. Besant in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* II. 1881 ff.

[5] Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim say nothing of this. It is first mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Epist. ad Constantium*, c. 3). The genuineness of this letter, which is not mentioned in Jerome's Catalogue of Cyril's works, has been called in question (see Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra*, II. exerc. XII. § 27). It is certain however that Cyril speaks (*Catech.* IV. 10, X. 19, XIII. 4) of fragments of the true Cross being spread over the whole world. The tradition is found, with some differences of detail, in Ambrose, *De Morte Theodosii*, c. 46, Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 31 [11], Rufinus, *H. E.* X. 7 f., Socrates, I.

fragments of.

came frequent. Religious zeal longed to see the very places where the Lord had walked and suffered, whence He had risen and ascended into Heaven. Happy was the man who possessed a little dust from these places or a splinter from the wood of the very Cross itself, which suffered no diminution though fragments were daily taken from it. The only person from whom these fragments could be obtained was the bishop of Jerusalem[1], a circumstance which no doubt increased the number of pilgrims to the Holy City. Many also came to Palestine in hopes of being baptized in the Jordan[2], which Constantine himself purposed but was unable to accomplish[3].

Activity in church building[4].

III. It was natural that when Christians became numerous and services splendid, churches should become more spacious and dignified. So Eusebius tells us that when the Church had rest Christian temples rose much more lofty and magnificent than those which had been destroyed, so that in every city there were consecrations of newly-built houses of prayer[5].

Types of churches.

Basilica.

Nave and aisles.

1. The churches of the period from Constantine to Justinian are for the most part either of the basilican or the domed type. The Christian basilica[6], which in its general traits strongly resembles the secular buildings of the same name which were used as tribunals and market-houses, was an oblong hall divided by rows of columns into a central space and two or (occasionally) four side aisles. Above the columns rose a wall pierced with windows which admitted a flood of light into the interior. The

---

17, Sozomen, II. 1, Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 18, Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. 34. See R. Sinker *in Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 503 ff.; M. F. Argles in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 882 ff.

[1] Paulinus, *Epistt.* 30 and 31.

[2] Eusebius, *De Locis Ebræis*, s. v. *Βηθαβαρά*.

[3] *Id. De Vita Const.* IV. 62.

[4] On Christian Architecture, see F. Kugler, *Kunstgeschichte* and *Geschichte der Baukunst;* H. Hübsch, *Die Altchristl. Kirchen;* J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, vol. 2; W. Lübke, *Gesch. der Architectur;* G. Dehio u. G. v. Bezold, *Die Kirchl. Baukunst des Abendlandes;* H. Holtzinger, *Die Altchristliche Architectur;* A. Nesbitt in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.vv. *Basilica* and *Church.*

[5] *H. E.* x. 2. 3.

[6] P. Sarnelli, *Antica Basilicographia* (Neapol. 1686); Platner u. Rostell, *Roms Basiliken, in Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom*, Bd. i; Bunsen, *Die Basiliken d. Christl. Rom;* Zestermann, *Die Basiliken;* Messmer, *Ursprüngl. Entwickel. u. Bedeutung d. Basilika;* O. Mothes, *Die Basilikenform;* Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, pp. 115 ff.

Roof. *Entrance.* *Apse or Bema.* *Holy Table.* *Dove.* *One Altar.* *Soleas.* *Ambones.* *Triumphal Arch.* *Transept.* *Cancelli.* *Confessio.* *Atrium.* *Phiala.* *Narthex.*

roof was in some cases open, so as to shew the timbers of the construction, in others concealed by a ceiling, often richly decorated. The entrance was generally from the west. At the other end the central nave terminated in an apse, round the wall of which were the seats of the bishop and the other clergy, while the holy table or altar —in primitive times of wood, but from the middle of the fourth century usually of stone—stood nearly in the centre of the semicircle. From a canopy above it was frequently suspended a dove of precious metal in which the Eucharist was reserved. It was probably not customary before the end of the sixth century to place more than one altar in a church. Immediately in front of the bema was frequently a raised platform for the choir, at the corners of which were desks or ambones for the readers. At one of these desks the preacher sometimes stood, but a bishop seems always to have preached from his cathedra in the bema itself. In most churches the colonnades stretched in an unbroken line to the wall beside the apse; but in the grander churches, such as the old St Peter's at Rome, they did not reach the apse, but came to an end at a point considerably short of it, where a lofty arch—the "triumphal arch"—was thrown over the nave. This left a free space in front of the apse, which was sometimes prolonged beyond the lateral walls of the church so as to form a transept. The floor of the apse or bema was always raised above that of the nave, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. It was separated from the nave by a screen or railing. Beneath the altar was frequently an excavation or vault—called "confessio"—to receive the relics of some saint. Before the principal entrance was a forecourt, generally surrounded by cloisters, in the midst of which was the basin at which the faithful performed ceremonial ablutions before entering the church. That portion of the cloister which ran along the wall of the church formed an ante-church to which persons were admitted who were not in full communion. Where there was no such portico a space was marked off for non-communicants within the church itself, at the end furthest from the altar and nearest the entrance. In Oriental churches galleries for the women were sometimes placed over the side-aisles. From an early date, certainly as

Dedication. *Baptistery.* *Font.*

early as the beginning of the fourth century, churches were solemnly dedicated and set apart from profane uses[1]. The precinct of a church was generally surrounded with a wall, which also enclosed subsidiary buildings, especially one destined for the administration of holy baptism and called a baptistery[2], containing a bath in which adults might be immersed. When it became usual to baptize infants, a font[3], generally of stone, was placed in the church itself.

Domed churches. *Churches at Antioch,* *Constantinople, St Sophia, 532—537;* *Ravenna, St Vitalis, 526—547.*

Even to this day the Gothic churches of the West bear manifest traces of their derivation from the ancient basilica. The other form adopted by the early builders of churches was the dome. This was probably suggested by the circular or polygonal domed buildings, such as the tombs of Cecilia Metella and of Hadrian at Rome, placed over the remains of famous persons. Christians built similar structures over the graves of martyrs, and used them for worship. Such was probably the lofty octagonal church built by Constantine in the year 327 at Antioch[4]. The famous "Dome of the Rock" at Jerusalem may possibly be of the same age. To Constantine is also to be attributed the circular domed church of Sta. Costanza at Rome, by some considered a baptistery. But all ancient domed edifices yield in splendour to the magnificent edifice dedicated to St Sophia at Constantinople[5], in which nave and apse are combined with the dome. In this church the capabilities of the domed style became apparent, and it spread accordingly throughout the Eastern empire. In Italy there is a most striking example of it in the church of St Vitalis at Ravenna, nearly contemporary with St Sophia.

Primitive feeling against pictures.

2. The Council of Elvira in the beginning of the fourth century probably expressed a feeling very general in the Church when it resolved[6] that it was not fitting to

---

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 3, 4; *Vita Const.* iv. 43. See H. Bailey in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* pp. 426 ff.

[2] A. Nesbitt in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 173.

[3] E. Venables, *Ib.* 680.

[4] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 50; Jerome, *Contra Joannem Hieros.* 37.

[5] This church is described in verse by Paul the silentiary, who saw it built. It is also described by Procopius (*De Ædific. Justin.* I. 1 ff.), Evagrius (*H. E.* IV. 31), and Agathias (*Hist.* v. 9). In modern times by W. Spangenberg, *Altchristl. Baudenkmale Constantinopels* (Berlin, 1854). See also Ducange, *Constantinop. Christiana.*

[6] *Canon* 36.

introduce pictures into churches, lest the objects of worship should be portrayed on the walls. Eusebius[1] blamed the painters of pictures of St Peter, St Paul, and the Lord Himself, such as he had himself seen, as having unwarily followed pagan examples; and when the emperor's sister Constantia begged him to send her a picture of the Saviour, he replied with some asperity that he had no such thing, and that he had himself taken away two pictures of pagan philosophers, which some woman vaunted as portraits of our Lord and St Peter, lest the heathen should suppose that Christians had become idolaters[2]. At a later date Epiphanius[3], seeing a curtain in a village church in Palestine adorned with a representation of Christ or of some saint tore it down; and Asterius of Amasea[4] begged that no paintings should be made of that human form which Christ once bore for us.

Churches covered with pictures.

Notwithstanding this, however, during the fourth and subsequent centuries the walls of churches came to be covered with representations of sacred persons and scenes[5]. Gregory of Nyssa[6] describes the painting of a martyrdom in a church dedicated to a martyr; and Paulinus of Nola[7] contends that the pictures in the church which he himself built attracted and instructed the country folk who entered it. Nilus[8], a famous ascetic contemporary with Augustin, replying to a friend who was about to build and decorate a church, says that a man of masculine and vigorous mind would be content to place at the east end of his church one single cross as the emblem of our salvation; but he would not object to place on the side walls representations of scenes from the Old and New Testament, from the hand of the best painter attainable, as the books of the unlettered.

---

[1] *H. E.* vii. 18.

[2] Quoted in *Conc. Nicæa* ii. Act. 6. (Hardouin, *Conc.* iv. 405); more fully by J. Boivin in a note to Nicephorus (*Hist. Byzant.* ii. p. 1301, ed. Bonn.)

[3] *Opera*, iv. 2, p. 85, ed. Dindorf.

[4] In Gieseler, i. 571.

[5] See p. 166, n. 5, and add Muratori, *De Templorum apud Vet. Christ. Ornatu;* J. G. Müller, *Bildliche Darstellungen in Sanctuarium;* F. Kugler, *Gesch. der Malerei seit Constantin;* X. Kraus, *Die Chr. Kunst in ihren Anfängen.*

[6] *Orat. de Laudibus Theodori M.* c. 2.

[7] *Natal. Felicis*, 9; *Epist.* 30 [al. 12].

[8] *Epist.* iv. 61, *ad Olympiodorum*, in Hardouin, *Conc.* iv. 185; and in Holtzinger's *Architectur*, p. 265 f.

Mosaics[1],

Pictures for the decoration of churches were almost always executed in mosaic work; they were produced, that is, by arranging small cubes or tesseræ of different colours in the required forms. These tesseræ were at first cut from various coloured marbles, hard stones, or earthenware, but when the art was discovered of making coloured tesseræ of vitreous paste scarcely any other material was used in church mosaics. Pictures so formed were almost indestructible except by direct violence; and if the material was incapable of producing flowing lines, subtle gradations of colour, and the expression of lively feeling, it was not ill-adapted to portray a certain majestic calm and exaltation above the world. Mosaics dating from the time of Constantine onwards are found at Rome, at Thessalonica, at Ravenna, and elsewhere; the earliest having the gay and festive character of pagan art. In the most ancient mosaics "the position of chief dignity, the centre of the conch of the apse, was always occupied by Christ, either standing or enthroned, supported on either hand by the Apostles, St Peter and St Paul standing next Him, together with the patron saints and founders of the Church. Subsequently the place of our Lord was usurped by the patron saint (as at St Agnes at Rome), or by the Blessed Virgin holding the Divine Child in her lap (as at Parenzo and St Mary in Dominica). A hand holding a crown is usually seen issuing from the clouds above the chief figure, a symbol of the Supreme Being. The river Jordan flows at the feet of Christ, separating the Church triumphant above from the Church militant below. In a zone below we usually find in the centre the Holy Lamb, the head surrounded by a cruciform nimbus, standing on a mount from which gush the four rivers of Paradise, symbolizing the four Evangelists. Trees, usually palm-trees, laden with fruit, typify the Tree of Life, while the phœnix with its radiant plumage symbolizes the soul of the Christian passing through death to a new and glorified life. On either side six

of glass paste,

in the apse,

---

[1] Appell, *Christian Mosaic Pictures;* Barbet de Juoy, *Mosaïques de Rome;* Furietti, *De Musivis;* Grimouard de St. Laurent, *Guide de l'Art Chrétien;* J. H. Parker, *Archæology of Rome;* De Rossi, *Musaïci Cristiani;* Texier et Pullan, *Églises Byzantines;* Digby Wyatt, *Art of Mosaic;* E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. *Mosaics.*

sheep, types of the Apostles, and through them of believers in general, issue from the gates of the two holy cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem. *on the triumphal arch,* On the Western face of the great arch of the apse, or the arch of triumph, we see at the apex a medallion bust of Christ, or the Holy Lamb, or, which is very frequent, the book with seven seals elevated on a jewelled throne. On either side are ranged angels, the evangelistic symbols, and the seven golden candlesticks, in a horizontal band, the spandrels below containing the twenty-four white-robed elders of the Apocalypse offering their crowns, with arms outstretched in adoration, to the Lamb. *on arch of nave.* In the larger basilicas, where a transept separates the nave from the apse, a second transverse arch is introduced, the face of which is also adorned with subjects taken from the Apocalypse[1]." At Ravenna, however, in the Church of St Vitalis, not only are sacred *Scenes from actual life.* scenes and symbols depicted, but also Justinian with his attendants and Theodora with her ladies, making their costly offerings at the dedication of the church[2]. The Church of St Sophia at Constantinople is decorated with magnificent mosaics, which shew that "in Byzantium itself the stiffening influence of Byzantine pictorial traditions had hardly begun to operate in the sixth century[3]."

Sculpture. 3. Not only architecture and mosaic were enlisted in the service of the Church; sculpture also came to be *Statues.* applied to Christian uses. The only examples which remain to us of early Christian statues are the marble statuettes of the Good Shepherd in the Lateran Museum, the bronze figure of St Peter in the great church at Rome which bears his name, and the marble statue of Hippolytus, also in the Lateran Museum. Both the statue of St Peter, however, and those of the Good Shepherd have been thought to *Sculptured sarcophagi.* be of pagan origin. But we have abundant remains of early Christian bas-reliefs in the decoration of sarcophagi, which seem to have been set in places where they were open to view. The work of pagan artists was in early days sometimes used to receive the bodies of Christians, and when Christian sculptors were employed they adapted the style of their pagan predecessors to the treatment of Christian subjects. "Nowhere is the rapid decline of art more recognizable than in the sarcophagi......The compositions are crowded and ill-balanced; the figures are usually ill-drawn, with short thick bodies, large heads, stiff draperies, and a general absence of dignity and grace. They are rather architectural and pictorial than sculptural or statuesque[1]." They represent scenes from the Bible, Christ and the Apostles, the raising of Lazarus, the story of Jonah, the miracle of the loaves, the healing of the blind, Moses striking the rock, Daniel in the lions' den, and the like. One of the oldest and most beautiful sarcophagi is that of the prefect Junius Bassus (d. 359). The finest perhaps of those found in Rome is that of Petronius Probus (d. 395), in the subterranean church of St Peter. Christian sarcophagi have also been found at Arles and at Treves. In the sculptures at Ravenna the biblical cycle of illustration is less prominent than elsewhere, but they are richer in decorative work; the cross, the vine, the monogram of Christ, doves and peacocks are frequently repeated around single figures of the Lord and His Apostles.

---

[1] E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* pp. 1323 f.

[2] *Ib.* 1331.

[3] *Ib.* 1335. They are known only from the drawings of Salzenberg (*Altchristl. Baudenkmale*) taken during a temporary removal of the plaster. See also Fossati, *Agia Sofia.*

Scenes represented.

Ravenna.

Representations of faithful servants of Christ working or dying in the service of their Lord, so long as they were fitting and reverent, would seem not only innocent but profitable. But, in some cases at least, they came to be regarded with superstitious reverence, and the tendency to give them undue honour was no doubt increased by the belief that sacred pictures had wrought miracles. Augustin was far from being hostile to paintings in churches, but he bewails the use which was often made of them, and begs that the Catholic Church may not be blamed for the folly of some of her children who worshipped tombs and pictures—a folly which she herself condemned[2]. Christ and His Apostles were to be sought in the sacred books, not on painted walls[3]. Towards the end of the sixth century Leontius[4], bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, discussed the question of the respect paid by Christians

Reverence paid to pictures.

Leontius, c. 590.

---

[1] E. Venables in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1864.

[2] *De Moribus Eccl. Cath.* I. 34.

[3] *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* I. 10.

[4] In Hardouin, *Conc.* IV. 193 ff.

Reverence to pictures.

to images, with a view to rebut the charges of the Jews. The obeisance or genuflexion (*προσκύνησις*) made by Christians before images was no act of worship, but a symbol of respect; and it was not paid to the mere material image, but to that which the image represents. In the same way Christians reverenced the holy places, not as divine in themselves, but as memorials of Christ. Everything depends on the intention of an act of reverence. Thus the respect paid by Christians to pictures came to be defended by the same arguments which had been used a few generations earlier by the pleaders for pagan idolatry.

CHAPTER XIV.

GROWTH OF THE CHURCH.

The Church in the East.

I. Christianity was largely diffused, without direct missionary effort, by the natural intercourse between different parts of the world. It followed the track of the Roman legions and accompanied commerce from shore to shore. Wherever Christians were found, there was found Christian worship, and the curiosity which was excited about the new faith generally led to its extension[1].

Abyssinian Church.

But there were also conversions of heathen nations of a different kind. The history of the foundation of the Abyssinian Church is strange and romantic[2]. A Christian philosopher of Tyre, named Meropius, undertook a voyage of exploration in the direction of what was then vaguely called India. He was wrecked on the coast of Abyssinia and put to death with the whole of the ship's crew, with the exception of two kinsmen of his, Frumentius and Ædesius, who were spared on account of their tender age, and sent as slaves to the king of the country. There Ædesius was made the king's cupbearer, and Frumentius the chief keeper of the public records. The king before his early death freed the two Tyrian slaves, who were entreated by the widowed queen to take charge of the young king, her son. Frumentius in particular acquired great influence, which he used to promote the settlement

Frumentius and Ædesius,

---

[1] See *antea*, p. 58.

[2] Rufinus, *H. E.* x. 9, who is copied by Socrates I 19; Sozomen II. 24; and Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 23.—J. Pearson, *Vindic. Ignat.* P. I. c. xi. s. 3; H. Ludolph, *Hist. Æthiopica* (1681), with *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* (1691) and *Appendix* (1694); Lacroze, *Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, etc.; W. Hoffmann in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* I. 45 (1st ed.); Dillmann in *Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Gesellschaft* VII. (1852), and *über die Anfänge d. Axumitischen Reichs*, in *Abhand. d. Berliner Akad.* 1878 and 1880; H. R. Reynolds in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* II. 232 ff.

Frumentius bishop, before 368.

of Christian merchants in the country, and to procure them freedom of worship. When the king came of age, Ædesius returned to Tyre, while Frumentius betook himself to Alexandria, where he besought Athanasius, then bishop of that see, to send priests to confirm and strengthen the new colony of the Church. Athanasius could devise no better method than to send Frumentius himself as bishop to Abyssinia, where he was called Abba Salama. King Aizan and his brother were baptized, and the faith made rapid progress. During the Arian controversy Frumentius remained faithful to the Catholic cause, and persuaded the king to reject an Arian patriarch whom the emperor Constantius wished to force upon him. It has been supposed that the ancient Æthiopic version of the Scriptures was made in Abyssinia in the fourth and fifth centuries, "but from the general character of the version itself this is improbable, and the Abyssinians themselves attribute it to a later period[1]." Lying remote from the general movement of the world, the Abyssinian Church has preserved some old customs which have elsewhere become obsolete. As some of these are Judaic, it has been supposed that the Abyssinians were converted to Judaism before they adopted Christianity, but this seems very improbable[2].

Arabia.

Theophilus, c. 350.

Elesbaan, c. 523.

Christianity had already reached Arabia in the previous period. Under Constantius the Arian Theophilus of Diu is said[3] to have had considerable success among the Himyaritic (Homerite) people in Yemen, and to have converted their chief, who built three churches. A Catholic king of Abyssinia, Elesbaan[4], is believed to have conquered the country and restored orthodoxy in the sixth century. In the fourth and fifth centuries the monks and anchorites made a great impression on the nomad Arabs of the desert who surrounded them[5].

---

[1] S. P. Tregelles in *Dict. of the Bible*, III. 1613.

[2] Tellesius [Tellez] *Hist. Æthiop.*; Isenberg and Krapf, *Journal of Proceedings in Shoa, etc.*; W. C. Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, II. 177; III. 144.

[3] By Philostorgius, *Epit.* II. 6; III. 4 ff.

[4] F. Paget, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* II. 70 ff.

[5] Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*; Socrates IV. 36; Sozomen VI. 38 Theodoret, *H. E.* IV. 23; *Hist. Relig.* c. 26.

Persia, *Persecution,* 343—381. 414—422. *Theodosius,* 422.

In Persia[1] Christianity had been introduced in the third century, and had a metropolitan at Ctesiphon, the capital city. The revived Persian kingdom of the Sassanian dynasty was however by no means favourable to the faith of Christ. Its monarchs were generally anxious to revive the old Persian religion, and when their enemies, the Roman emperors, became Christian, the Persians regarded Christians as friends of Rome. Constantius in vain made representations to Shahpoor (Sapor) in favour of the Church within his dominions. A persecution began in the year 343, and lasted with more or less violence to the death of the king in 381. The aged bishop of Ctesiphon, Symeon, was one of the first victims of this outbreak. From Shahpoor's death to the year 414 was an interval of peace and quiet; king Yezdegerd, under the influence of bishop Maruthas of Tagrit, was even favourable to the Christians and did all in his power to protect them from injury. This happy state of things was however brought to an end by the fanaticism of bishop Abdas of Susa, who caused a fire-temple of the Persians to be rased to the ground. The king, with many reproaches, ordered him to rebuild the temple, and when he obstinately refused, began a persecution which lasted several years, and in which many Christians suffered death under horrible torture[2]. Theodosius II., however, after a victory over Bahram (Varanes), the son and successor of Yezdegerd, stipulated for the cessation of these fearful atrocities, and at the same time granted toleration to the Zoroastrians in the empire.

Armenia.

In Armenia[3] the Gospel was preached at an early date. Gregory the Illuminator, who is regarded as the apostle of Armenia, was succeeded in the primacy by his son Aristakes, who sat as bishop at the Council of Nicæa, and the primacy long remained in his family. *Narses Catholicus*, 366. Narses, called the Great, was recognised in the year 366 at the synod of Valarshapad as patriarch or catholicus, and it was at the same time determined that the head of the Armenian Church should no longer be nominated and consecrated by the Archbishop of Cæsarea, but by the Armenian bishops themselves. Isaac (Sahak), son of Narses, became patriarch about the year 390, and did much for the extension of the Church and for the regulation of its rites and ceremonies. It was in his days that we find the beginning of Christian literature in Armenia. Mesrob, Isaac's lifelong friend, had resigned the office of king's secretary in order to devote himself to solitary asceticism, but at the bidding of his friend had left his solitude to preach the Gospel in his native land. *Armenian translation of the Bible.* While he was thus occupied he found the need of vernacular Scriptures, in which his converts might read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. Up to his time the lections from the Bible were read to the people in Syriac, which they did not understand. This Syriac version Isaac and Mesrob undertook to translate; but when, in the year 431, their pupils Joseph and Eznak returned from the Council of Ephesus with a Greek copy of the Scriptures, Isaac and Mesrob threw aside what they had begun, in order to make a version from the Greek; but finding themselves insufficiently acquainted with that language, they sent Joseph and Eznak, with Moses of Khoren (Chorenensis), who is the narrator of these events, to study Greek at Alexandria. The result was the extant Armenian version, though the present printed text probably contains variations introduced at a later period[1].

---

[1] T. Hyde, *Vet. Persarum Religionis Hist.*; J. Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (Lond. 1815); J. B. Fraser, *Hist. and Descript. Account of Persia* (Lond. 1834); J. Piggot, *Persia, Ancient and Modern*; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*; Th. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte.*

[2] S. E. Assemani, *Acta Martyrum Orient. etc.* tom. i.; Uhlemann, *Die Verfolg. in Persien*, in *Zeitschr. für Hist. Theologie*, 1861; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus den Syr. Akten Pers. Märtyrer*, in *Abhd. für d. Kunde d. Morgenlande.* Bd. 7 (1880).

[3] Sources are Faustus of Byzantium, *Hist. of Armenia*, extant in Armenian translation (Venice, 1822); French tr. in Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, tom. I. (Paris, 1868); Agathangelos, *Hist. of King Terdat, etc.* (in Armenian, Venice, 1835, French, *ib.* 1843), a compilation probably of the fifth century; Moses Chorensis, *Hist. Armen.*, ed. with Latin tr. by W. and G. Whiston (London, 1736), French tr. by Le Vaillant de Flo-

CONVERSION OF

II. But the conquests of the Church in the East and South are insignificant in their effect upon the history of

---

rival (Venice, 1841), and in Langlois, *u. s.* II. 47—175, in the original by the Mechitarists (Venice, 1827, and in *Works*, 1843—1864); Elisæus, *Hist. of Vartan, etc.* tr. from Armen. by Neumann (London, 1838). See Petermann in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* I. 663 ff. (2nd ed.); G. Williams in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 163 ff.; E. 163 ff.; E. L. Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent.* Also p. 68, n. 1, of this book.

[1] S. P. Tregelles, in *Dict. of Bible*, III. 1616 f.

THE TEUTONS.

the world compared with the conversion of the Teutonic tribes[1]. In them was found a fresh and unexhausted stock on which the engrafted Word grew and flourished in new life and vigour.

Teutonic Religion.

The deities of the Teutons were for the most part, like those of the Greeks and Romans, personifications of the powers of nature. The classical writers had, indeed, no hesitation in identifying these divinities with their own. But there was in the Teutonic mythology nothing of the lightness and frivolity which often appears in the classical. It was grave and solemn, sometimes cruel; and if we may trust the account of Tacitus[2], that the Germans shrank from any attempt to enclose heavenly beings within the walls of temples, or to give them the semblance of humanity, they were not altogether unprepared to worship Him who is invisible. A very marked trait of the Teutonic character was the strong feeling of loyalty which bound every Teuton to his chief. The fealty which they gave to an earthly lord they gave to their heavenly Lord and Master when He was made known to them. His battles they were ready to fight. The love of freedom, the sense of personal dignity, which had been almost lost in the empire through the all-absorbing claims of a despotic state, were still in full activity among the Germans. Among such a people a Gospel which taught the preciousness of individual souls was likely to find an easy reception. The respect paid by the Teutons to their women also no doubt conduced to the spread of Christianity. It is remarkable in how many cases Christian princesses bent the hearts of their husbands to the cause of Christ.

Loyalty,

Respect for Women.

State of different tribes.

There were however great differences in the religious condition of the various peoples. Among the more remote tribes which came little in contact with foreign influence, as the Saxons, the Frisians, and the Danes, paganism was, in the period of which we are now speaking, very vigorous and rooted in the affections of the people. But in the settlements within, or on the borders of, the empire, the superior spiritual and intellectual force of Christianity made itself felt. Even where the Christians were conquered, they overcame their vanquishers by the arts of peace, as the Greek had once overcome the Roman. It is probable that the race which sprang from the mixture of the invaders with the old inhabitants of the empire was generally Christian.

---

[1] See J. G. Pfister, *Gesch. d. Teutschen*, Bd. I.; F. Dahn, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Bd. I.; Rückert, *Culturgeschichte d. Deutschen Volkes in d. Zeit d. Uebergangs aus d. Heidenthum in d. Christenthum;* G. Kaufmann, *Deutsche Gesch.* I.; W. Krafft, *K.-G. d. German. Völker;* Alb. Hauck, *K.-G. Deutschlands*, 1er Th. (Leipzig, 1821); C. Merivale, *The Continental Teutons* (S. P. C. K.).

[2] *Germania*, c. 9.

Christianity on the Rhine; Among the Germans on the Rhine Christianity was introduced at an early date. To pass over expressions of ancient writers which are rather rhetorical than exact, Churches appear to have existed at the end of the third century at Treves, Metz and Cologne. Maternus, bishop of Cologne, was one of the commissioners appointed to adjudicate in the matter of the Donatists[1], and in the following year he appeared at the Council of Arles, where appeared also Agræcius, bishop of Treves. The date of the origin of the Churches at Tongres, Spires, and Mainz (where Crescentius is said to have been the first bishop) is uncertain, though no doubt ancient. *on the Danube,* On the Danube, in Noricum, Rhætia and Vindelicia, we have more certain accounts of the first planting of Christianity. Probably it made its way through the Roman garrisons, and it is in places where there were colonies or stationary camps that we first find it. The oldest Church in this region is *Lorch, 303* believed to be that of Lorch (anciently Laureacum), where Maximilian[2] the martyr was bishop. Among the martyrs in the beginning of the fourth century we find *Pettau, Augsburg, Sirmium.* Victorinus of Pettau in Styria and Afra of Augsburg. In Pannonia the seat of a bishop was fixed at Sirmium, an occupier of which, Irenæus[3], suffered death in the persecution of Diocletian. These however are but scanty gleanings compared with the great harvest which in the course of a few generations was to be brought into the garners of the Church.

(313: margin beside "adjudicate in the matter of the Donatists")

The Goths. 1. In the early part of the third century a group of loosely connected tribes which had their habitation between the Vistula and the Danube were known to the Romans as Goths. It was in combat with them that the emperor Decius lost his life. In the days of Valerian and Gallienus hordes of Goths pressed into the empire as far as Asia Minor, where they destroyed many precious monuments of antiquity, among them the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus. After crushing defeats they soon became again formidable, and were a constant cause of dread to the empire, until Constantine made a definite peace with them, and enlisted from their number a body of forty thousand under the imperial banners. Peace lasted so long as the family of Constantine was on the throne. During their incursions into the empire the Goths had carried back with them into their own country many Christian captives, including some clergy, by whose means many of the captors became Christians. It would even seem that a regular hierarchy was established in their territory, for a Gothic bishop[1] subscribed the decrees of the Council of Nicæa.

---

[1] Optatus, *De Schism. Donat.* I. 23. See *antea*, p. 339.

[2] Anonymous *Life* in *Acta SS.* Oct. tom. VI. p. 52 ff., and in Pez, *Scriptores Rerum Austriac.* I. 22 ff.

[3] Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 401 (ed. 2da).

In Asia Minor, 258—9.

But the real founder of Gothic Christianity was one of their own kindred, Ulfilas[2]. Born about 311 in a Christian family, which had been carried away captive from Cappadocia into the Gothic territory, he received a name no doubt in familiar use among the Goths. There he grew up under Christian influences, speaking Gothic as his native tongue, but probably acquainted also with Greek. While still among the Goths he seems to have become a reader in the Church, but about the year 340 he was sent by the Gothic king as an ambassador to Constantinople, and was there consecrated bishop of the Goths, probably by prelates of the Arian party, to which he always remained attached. He was present at a

Ulfilas, born, c. 311,

bishop, 340.

---

[1] He is described as "Provinciæ Gothiæ, Theophilus Gothiæ Metropolis" (Hardouin, *Conc.* I. 320). Some have supposed that he belonged to the Crimean Goths (Möller, *K.-G.* II. 27).

[2] The original authorities are Socrates IV. 33 ff.: Sozomen VI. 37; Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii. 5; the sketch of Ulfilas's life by Auxentius, in G. Waitz, *Leben u. Lehre des Ulfila*; Jornandes or Jordanes, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, ed. by Mommsen in *Monumenta Germanie, Auctt. Ant.* XV.; Procopius, *De Bello Gothico;* Isidorus Hisp. *Chronicon Gothorum*, in Migne *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 83.—Bessel, *Ueber das Leben u. die Lehre des Ulfila;* G. Kaufmann in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, Bd. 27; C. A. Scott, *Ulfilas the Apostle of the Goths* (London, 1885).

council at Constantinople in 360, and assented to the creed then set forth, which was an attempt to set aside altogether the principal technical terms on which the controversy turned, while acknowledging Christ to have been begotten of God the Father "before all ages and before all beginning[1]." The declaration of faith however which Ulfilas left behind does not coincide with this or indeed with any other symbol known to us. In this he says nothing of the eternal generation of the Son, but describes Him as "our Lord and God, creator and maker of the universe, not having any like Him[2]." Whatever were the exact views of Ulfilas, it is beyond question that the Goths among whom he worked with so great success became Arian. When Arianism was dominant in the empire, the pagan chief of the West-Goths, Athanaric, became alarmed at the rapid increase of those whom he regarded as the natural allies of their coreligionists in the empire, and began a persecution.

Athanaric persecutes, c. 350.

Many Goths suffered loss and injury, and even death itself, for their faith. It was probably by Ulfilas that the Arian emperor Constantius was induced to permit the settlement of the Arian Goths on Roman territory.

Gothic migration.

Mingled with their still pagan kindred they passed in great bands over the Danube into Mœsia, and extended their settlements to the foot of the Haemus range. This was the principal scene of Ulfilas's work, but his activity reached also the Goths on the North bank of the Danube, where he had the help and support of other missionaries.

Persecution renewed, 370.

The number of his converts alarmed Athanaric, who persecuted those Goths who remained within his dominion, and there were again many martyrs[3]. Fritigern, however, Athanaric's rival, who was anxious to remain for a time in friendship with the Arian emperor Valens, protected the converted Goths and permitted missionary work to go forward unhindered.

---

[1] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, p. 129; see above, p. 271.

[2] "Unigenitum Filium ejus, Dominum et Deum nostrum, opificem et factorem universæ naturæ, non habentem similem suum." It would almost seem as if in the last words Ulfilas contradicted the ὅμοιον of the Arians (see Socrates, ii. 41). This creed is found (imperfect) in Waitz, *Leben Ulf.* p. 10 f.; Caspari, *Quellen*, II. 303 f.; Hahn, *Bibliothek*, § 126, p. 199.

[3] See Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, 598 ff.

Ulfilas's translation of the Scriptures.

It was in this period of anxiety and varied fortunes that Ulfilas wrought out the great work which has given him his most enduring title to fame. He gave the Goths the alphabet[1] in which their language was written, and translated the Scriptures from the Greek into the Gothic tongue. The books of Kings he left untranslated, as he thought the accounts of the wars of the Jews only too likely to inflame the warlike passions of the Goths[2]. This translation is a masterpiece of its kind, very faithful to the Greek text, but not following it so closely as to do violence to the Gothic idiom.

Invasion of the Huns, 375.

Ulfilas's work on the northern side of the Danube had continued under Fritigern's protection but a few years, when the Goths were driven from their ancient seat by the Huns, and settled in large numbers in Thrace under the protection of Valens. Not very long after this migration, the hard treatment which they received from the imperial officials caused war to break out between Goths and Romans—a war in which Ulfilas and the Goths who had crossed the Danube with him at the time of the first persecution decided to take no part. In vain Ulfilas attempted to mediate between Fritigern and Valens. The emperor fell in battle with the Goths at Adrianople, and the victors pressed on, wasting the land with fire and sword, to the Adriatic seaboard and to the very walls of Constantinople. The great Theodosius delivered the empire from its pressing danger; and so anxious was he to unite the Goths with the Church as well as the empire, that he summoned a council at Constantinople in the year 383—though the Second Œcumenical had but just propounded its Creed—which was to attempt to devise articles of union[3]. Ulfilas attended it, but only to find himself branded as a heretic when emperor and council agreed in maintaining unaltered the Constantinopolitan Creed. The distress which he must have experienced perhaps hastened his end, for in the same

Gothic conquests, 378.

Council, 383.

Death of Ulfilas, 383.

---

[1] Socrates, iv. 32. This alphabet may be seen in Hickes' *Thesaurus*, p. 3, and in Skeat's *Mœso-Gothic Glossary*, p. 287.

[2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii. 5. This translation no longer exists in a complete state. That which is now extant is contained in the Codex Argenteus, now at Upsala, the Codex Carolinus at Wolfenbüttel, and the Milan fragments published by Mai.

[3] Sozomen, vii. 12.

year he died. There were not wanting however ardent disciples to carry on his work. The Goths remained Arian, a fact which greatly influenced their subsequent history, inasmuch as it introduced an important difference between them and the Catholic inhabitants of the empire which they overran. The Arian dominion led the latter more and more to look for help to the emperor and the pope. Yet the Goths were for the most part merciful conquerors and sovereigns. The capture of Rome by Alaric, king of the West-Goths, sent a shudder throughout the empire; many thought that the end of the world had come; but the conqueror gave orders to spare the churches and those who had fled to them for refuge, while the treasures of the cathedral church were openly carried to a place of safety. And when, after his early death, his successor Ataulf married Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, and shewed himself friendly to the conquered race, even the Romans began to see the promise of a better time. *Suevi.* In Spain the invading Goths brought over to Arianism the Suevi, earlier settlers, who had adopted the Catholic faith which they found there. *Vandals* The Vandals, who had been permitted by Constantine to settle in Pannonia, had there been converted to Arianism by missionaries of the West-Goths; but, unlike their teachers, who everywhere treated with forbearance the Catholics under their dominion, the Vandals bore a fanatical hatred to the adherents of the Nicene faith, and persecuted them wherever they had the power. *in Africa,* 429. In Africa, in particular, especially when they were led by king Hunneric, they inflicted all imaginable outrages upon the Catholics and their churches[1]. *Conference,* 484. A conference which Hunneric brought about between orthodox and Arian bishops had no result, except to stimulate the Vandal king to fresh violence. After the death of Hunneric, the persecution continued under his nephews Gundamund and Thrasimund. A milder period followed the death of the latter; but this period was short, for in *Belisarius.* 533. the year 533 the Vandal power was overthrown by Belisarius, and the African province, weakened and desolated, was restored to the empire.

---

[1] Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persecutionis Africanæ Provinciæ.*

Prevalence of Arianism.

In the middle of the fifth century a large proportion of the Teutonic tribes who were dominant in Western Europe belonged to the Arian confession. This state of things was however completely changed by the conversion of the Franks to Catholic Christianity.

The Franks[1].

Chlodwig, 481—511,

marries Clotilda, 493.

Battle of Zülpich, 496.

Chlodwig's vow.

2. The Salian Franks were a powerful Teutonic tribe, or rather federation, who, pressing southwards from their earlier seat on the lower Rhine had taken possession of the fertile plains on the Meuse and the Sambre, and had thence extended their boundaries to the Somme. This people was led in the latter part of the fifth century by a chieftain of extraordinary power, Chlodwig[2], who overthrew the Romans under Syagrius in north-eastern Gaul, and made himself master of the country up to the Seine. He married Clotilda, the orphan daughter of the murdered Burgundian king Chilperic, who endeavoured to win over her pagan spouse to the Catholic Christianity in which she had been reared. But Chlodwig found no satisfaction in the doctrine of a crucified Saviour, though he did very reluctantly consent to the baptism of his infant son. War however brought to pass that which peaceful persuasion had in vain attempted. The Allemanni, a still pagan tribe, had by great prowess in a series of struggles established themselves in a wide and fruitful territory on both banks of the Upper and Middle Rhine. Desiring still to extend their territory, they invaded that of the neighbouring Ripuarian Franks. The pressing danger led the Frankish tribes to forget their internal dissensions, and Chlodwig advanced against his warlike foes at the head of the whole force of the nation. The opposing armies met near Zülpich, about twenty miles west of Bonn. The battle was long and bloody, and at last the Franks, after terrible losses, seemed to waver. In this strait Chlodwig bethought him of the words of his wife, who had told him of an Almighty God, unlike those of wood and stone, and vowed that if he conquered he would worship Christ Who gives victory to those who trust in

---

[1] The principal authority is Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 71; *Monum. German.*, *Script. Merov.* I.)—W. C. Perry, *The Franks from their first appearance in History to the death of king Pepin* (London, 1867).

[2] The name appears as Ludwig in German, and as Clovis and Louis in French.

Him[1]. After this the battle raged with new fury, but the Franks gained the upper hand; the king of the Allemanni himself fell, and his death caused panic among his warriors, who fled in confusion towards the Rhine. Flushed with victory, Chlodwig returned to Rheims, where he was met at the gate by his queen Clotilda and the archbishop Remigius, and conducted through the crowded streets to the cathedral, where he bowed his haughty head to receive baptism from the hands of the archbishop[2]. Three thousand of his chief men were received into the Catholic Church by baptism after the example of their leader. A portion of the army however refused the yoke of Christ and renounced their allegiance to Chlodwig, but returned after some time to his sovereignty. It must be confessed that Chlodwig's baptism did not confer upon him the Christian graces of gentleness and mercy. He remained what he had been before, bold, able, cruel and crafty. As after his conversion he shewed little or nothing of the spirit of Christianity, it has frequently been supposed that it was a mere matter of policy, intended to conciliate the Catholic inhabitants of Gaul and to give him a pretext for attacking the Arian Goths. That it had this effect there is no doubt. Still, though he did not understand by conversion that change of heart which we associate with the word, there seems no reason to doubt that, after his rough fashion, he was sincerely devoted to Christ Who had helped him in his need, and that he was proud of his position as the most powerful champion of the Faith in Europe. He is not a man whom we should readily suspect of hypocrisy in religion, though towards men he was certainly capable of bad faith.

Chlodwig's baptism.

Character of his conversion.

The Allemanni.

But little is known of the conversion of the conquered Allemanni. The Franks do not seem to have attempted to bring them by compulsion to the Catholic faith, but it was probably by their influence that it was diffused in the conquered territory. Their earliest teacher is said to have been Fridolin[1], a noble Irishman, the reputed founder of the monastery of Seckingen, on an island in the Rhine above Basel. Certainly when the Allemannic code of laws was drawn up about 630 the nation appears to be Christian. The Burgundians, a Teutonic tribe, inhabiting the banks of the Elbe, were driven westward by the pressure of the Huns, and in the end came to occupy a considerable territory in south-eastern Gaul. They had been converted under Catholic influence, and lived on a footing of Christian brotherhood with the conquered race[2]. They seem however to have lapsed into Arianism. These also were overthrown by Chlodwig in a great battle near Dijon, and twenty-three years later their dominions were added to the Frankish kingdom. Meantime they had been brought back to Catholicism by the strenuous efforts of Avitus, the famous bishop of Vienne, and an orthodox council was held at Epaon in the year 511 to regulate the affairs of the Burgundian Church. To a man of Chlodwig's character it was natural to regard love for the Catholic Church and the treading down of Arian peoples as one and the same thing. The West-Goths occupied a large portion of southern Gaul. "I cannot bear," said the Frankish king, "that these Arians should be masters in a part of Gaul. Let us go and (with God's help) conquer them, and bring their land into our own power[3]." He conquered them, and took possession of the country up to the Pyrenees, thus becoming lord over almost the whole of Gaul. Beyond the Pyrenees the West-Goths, who had been practically masters of the country from the beginning of the fifth century, were still Arian, but the older inhabitants retained their Catholic faith, and were sufficiently numerous and powerful to be a constant danger to their Arian lords—a danger which was much increased when the Frankish champions of Catholicism extended their do-

---

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 30.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 31. The legend that on this occasion a white dove brought an ampulla of sacred oil to anoint the king is first alluded to by Hincmar, nearly four hundred years after the supposed event. The fully developed legend is found in Flodoard's *Hist. Eccl. Remensis* (i. 13, in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 135, p. 52 c), written in the tenth century.

Fridolin, c. 510.

Burgundians converted, c. 413 (?).

conquered, 500.

Council at Epaon, 511.

Chlodwig overcomes the West-Goths, 507.

West-Goths in Spain.

---

[1] *Acta SS.* March 6, pp. 429—440; Colgan's *Acta SS. Hibern.* pp. 479—493; S. Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, iii. 91 ff.

[2] Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 32. Socrates (vii. 30) gives a more detailed account of their conversion, but his date is certainly wrong and the whole story somewhat doubtful. See Baronius, an. 413, c. 26; Rettberg, *K.-G. Deutschlands*, i. 254.

[3] Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 37.

minions to the Spanish frontier, for the Catholic Spaniards would be the natural allies of a Catholic invader. Various attempts were made by the Arian kings to compel their subjects to adopt their own creed and enter their own Church—in vain. At last king Reccared, under the guidance of Leander, the excellent bishop of Seville, took the opposite policy. In a council summoned by himself at Toledo in the year 589 he declared that he felt himself obliged, for the honour of God and the welfare of his people, to receive fully the orthodox faith in the Holy Trinity on behalf of himself and the nation, including the Suevi who were among his subjects[1]. From this time Arianism made but feeble attempts to lift its head in Spain. Thus by the end of the sixth century Catholic princes ruled from the Rhine to the Atlantic. Arianism was indeed almost extinct in Europe, except that the Lombards, who in 568 had established themselves in the northern region of Italy, did not relinquish their Arianism and paganism until the following century.

Reccared.

Council of Toledo, 589.

Lombards.

Rulers like Theoderic the East-Goth had found it possible to live on good terms with their Catholic subjects, but they had not attempted to unite them in one polity with their own nation. With the Franks we first find that fusion of races which in the end caused the conquering Teutons to adopt the "Rustic-Roman" speech of the conquered Gauls. From the time of Chlodwig we find men of Teutonic stock in the ministry of the Church, hitherto the privilege of the Romanized inhabitants. At the Council of Orleans in 511 we find among the thirty-two subscribing bishops two Teutonic names, and at that which was held at the same place thirty-eight years later eight Teutons appear among the sixty-eight subscribers[2]; afterwards the proportion becomes higher. But the old Roman cultivation of the Gallican clergy, even in its decay, asserted its power. Indispensable for the conduct of the administration, the bishops became more and more involved in politics, and secular business generally. The most remarkable product of the Romano-Gallican cultivation of this period was Gregory of Tours[3],

Effects of the Frankish rule in Gaul.

Frankish clergy.

Gregory of Tours,

---

[1] Hardouin, *Conc.* iii. 468 f. This council inserted "Filioque" in the Creed. See *antea*, p. 280.

[2] Hardouin, i. 1012, 1448.

[3] On Gregory's Life, see Ruinart's Preface etc. to his Ed. of *Opera;*

born, c. 540, bishop, 573, died, 594.

the Frank Herodotus. Georgius Florentius, who called himself Gregorius after his maternal grandfather, the canonized bishop of Langres, was born about the year 540 of a senatorial family at Arverna, now Clermont-Ferrand. He became deacon in his native town, but his remarkable gifts soon made him conspicuous. Kings employed him in the business of the state, and he was chosen bishop of Tours with the assent of all, high and low, clergy and laity[1]. In his see, while he gave much attention to the secular matters of which he was so distinguished a master, he proved himself a true shepherd of the flock committed to his charge. Tours, the city of St Martin, was at that time in fact the ecclesiastical metropolis of Gaul, and the influence of its able archbishop was felt far and wide. Under king Chilperic Gregory valiantly defended the rights of the Church against the encroachments of secular tyranny; to king Childebert he was counsellor and friend in all the difficulties which he had to encounter. He died, much mourned, in the year 594. His History of the Franks, of the greatest value for his own time, is a curious mixture of history and legend. To him history is the narrative of God's power working in the world, and in this point of view the miracles of the saints are at least as important as the overthrow of those who are without God. The orthodox Chlodwig is always victorious, while heretical kings come to nothing. Gregory desired to write classical Latin, but the country speech which he heard around him frequently betrays itself, and supplies us with interesting examples of the way in which the tongue of old Rome was gradually changed into the modern Romance languages.

Bishops more secular.

But as the Roman culture in Gaul died out, bishoprics and abbacies fell into the hands of ruder men. Ecclesiastics received benefices from the crown which were a cause of embarrassment; for as the crown often claimed the power of recalling what it had given, the system of

---

the Prefaces of Bordier, Jacobs, and Giesebrecht to their French and German translations; J. W. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit;* G. Monod, *Études Critiques sur l'Epoque Mérovingienne* (*Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes Études*, Fasc. 9); T. R. Buchanan in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 771 ff.; Ebert, *Christl. Lat. Lit.* I. 539 ff.

[1] Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina, etc.*, v. 3.

grants tended to make the prelates subservient to the king[1]. On the other hand, when the crown, as was sometimes the case, sought the aid of the bishops against its unruly feudatories, they in their turn naturally used the opportunity to gain concessions for themselves. In the election of bishops, the choice of the clergy and people was little regarded, during the Merovingian period, in comparison with the will of the king[2]. The lands of the Church were subject to tribute and the cultivators bound to service in war; even bishops took the field and bore arms[3]. Councils were not assembled without the consent of the king, and their canons had no force without his sanction; and as ecclesiastical affairs came to be dealt with in the great council of the nation, where both clergy and laity were present, synods of the clergy alone declined in importance. The bishops were however very powerful persons; they exercised in many cases judicial functions, and their excommunication was much dreaded both for its spiritual and its temporal consequences. Over their own clerks in particular, who were frequently drawn from the vassal class—for the free warriors did not generally find the clerical state attractive—they exercised almost despotic power; but they were themselves responsible to the king. "If one of us," said Gregory of Tours[4] to Chilperic, "turns aside from the way of righteousness, he can be corrected by thee; but if thou turnest aside, who shall admonish thee?" In this state of things, as may readily be supposed, the power of the see of Rome was little regarded. The pope was reverenced as the chief bishop of Christendom, but in the period with which we are now concerned there is little trace of his interference with the Gallican Church.

---

[1] The Council of Clermont (Arvernense, A.D. 535) c. 5, sought to check the practice of bishops seeking grants from the civil list. See also that of Paris (A.D. 557) c. 1.

[2] *Conc. Aurel.* v. c. 10 (A.D. 549). Gregory of Tours, *De SS. Patrum Vita*, c. 3. The fifth Council of Paris (A.D. 615) enacted that, on a vacancy in a see, that person shall succeed "quem metropolitanus a quo ordinandus est cum provincialibus suis, clerus vel populus civitatis, absque ullo commodo vel datione pecuniæ, elegerint;" but the king in his letter of confirmation added, "si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem principis ordinetur"—thus reserving to himself a right of veto (Hardouin, iii. 554).

[3] Two bishops, Salonius and Sagittarius, "galea et lorica sæculari armati," are said to have killed many men with their own hands in a battle with the Lombards in the year 572 (Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* IV. 43 [al. 37]).

[4] *Hist. Franc.* v. 49.

The British and Scottish Kelts.

III. The Britons under the Roman dominion seem to have gained a high degree of civilization. The foundations and the mosaic pavements of handsome villas are found in the south of England as frequently as in the Rhineland, and the higher school-training passed on from the Gauls to their kindred beyond the strait. In the time of Hadrian, said the satirist[1], British pleaders learned the art of speaking from glib-tongued Gaul, and even Thule (meaning probably the Shetlands) was thinking of engaging a tutor. Plutarch[2] tells us of a conversation which he had with a Greek teacher whom he met at Delphi, who was on his way home from Britain to Tarsus. It is probable from such instances that the educated classes may to some extent have adopted the Roman tongue, as we know was the case in Gaul.

British Church[3].

1. There is abundant testimony to the existence of a regular settled Church in Britain in Roman times, in communion with the Church throughout the world. Our remote island had learned the power of the Word, and had its churches and altars[4]; there too was a theology founded on Scripture[5], there were heard the denunciations and the promises of the Gospel[6]. It is even probable that the British had their own Latin translation of the Scriptures[7]. Britain worshipped the same Christ, and observed the

---

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* xv. 111.

[2] Quoted by Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 177.

[3] The original authorities for British Church history are Gildas, *Epistola;* Nennius, *Hist. Britonum* (both printed by the *English Historical Society;* English translations in *Six Old English Chronicles*, in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*); and notices in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* (On Nennius see H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus; über Entstehung, Geschichte u. Quellen der 'Hist. Britonum'*). The principal passages bearing on the history of the British Church, including Gildas, are collected in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, i. 1—121.—J. Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates;* E. Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ;* F. Thackeray, *Researches into the Ecclesiastical State of Ancient Britain;* J. Williams, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry or Ancient British Church;* J. Pryce, *The Ancient British Church;* Loofs, *Antiquæ Brit. Scotorumque Ecclesiæ quales fuerint Mores* (Lipsiæ, 1882).

[4] Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5; Chrysostom, *Adv. Judæos* (i. 575 ed. Montfauc.), in H. and S. 5, 10.

[5] Chrysostom, *De Util. Lect. Script.* (iii. 71), in H. and S. 10.

[6] Id. *in II. Cor. Hom.* 27 (x, 638); *in Matth. Hom.* 80 (vii. 767); *Serm. I. in Pentecost.* (iii. 791), in H. and S. 10, 11.

[7] See the evidence of this in Haddan and Stubbs, 170 ff.

same Rule of Truth as Africa, Persia, and India[1]. British pilgrims visited the Holy Places in the East from the end of the fourth century onwards[2]. Constantine included the British bishops in his invitation to the Council of Nicæa, and Athanasius testifies that British bishops asssented to its conclusions[3]. At the Council of Sardica Britons were numbered among those who acquitted Athanasius[4]. Hilary of Poictiers[5], the Athanasius of the West, bore witness in the year 358 to the orthodoxy of Britain, but in the following year the British prelates who were present at Rimini were coaxed and bullied—like the great majority of their brethren—into giving their assent to the inorthodox formula of the council which met there[6]. We learn incidentally that three of the British bishops, on account of their poverty, accepted the imperial allowance, which the rest of the Britons and the Gauls of Aquitaine declined.

British bishops at Councils.

Scanty records of British Church.

But with all these signs of life the history of the British Church in Roman times is almost a blank. No scrap of writing of any inhabitant of Britain in that age has come down to us. The rhetorical exaggeration of Gildas in the sixth century and the legends written down by Nennius (if this be indeed the name of a real person) at some later date; the scanty entries in the Saxon Chronicle; the few particulars which Bede in the eighth century gave of a Church which had already vanished from the greater part of the island—these are all the literary materials which we have for a history of the ancient British Church. And archæological research helps us little. We have a few remains of perhaps some six or eight Romano-British churches[7], and some forty or fifty sepulchral slabs and objects of various kinds of the Roman period are thought to bear indications of Christianity[8].

---

[1] Jerome, *Epist.* 10, *Ad Evangelum* (iv. ii. 803 ed. Bened.) in H. and S. 11.

[2] *Id. Epist.* 44 *ad Paulam* (iv. ii. 551) in H. and S. 11; Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 118, in H. and S. 14.

[3] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 19; Athanasius *ad Jovian. Imp.* (*Opp.* i. 781. ed. Paris, 1698) in H. and S. 7.

[4] Athanas. *Apol. c. Arian.* (i. 123); *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* (i. 360), in H. and S. 8, 9.

[5] *De Synodis*, *Prolog.* and c. 2, in H. and S. 9.

[6] Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, ii. 41.

[7] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 38. To the remains mentioned there may now be added the foundations of a basilica at Silchester.

[8] *Ib.* 39 f., 162 ff.

Perhaps no Church in the world has left in the region which it once occupied so few traces of its existence. Probably, as seems to be indicated by the poverty of its bishops at Rimini, the British Church was poor, its churches for the most part slight buildings of wood[1], and its art rudimentary. Its vessels of precious metal and its books no doubt vanished in the Saxon storm. It may be that its history was uneventful. It seems to have been little hurt by persecution. If St Alban and his companions suffered for the faith in the bad days of Diocletian, this must not be supposed to indicate any general massacre, for we have the express testimony of Lactantius[2] and Eusebius[3]—contemporary witnesses—that the division of the empire over which Constantius bore sway enjoyed calm while the rest of the world was beaten with the tempest. The principal event in the internal history of this Church which remains on record is connected with the Pelagian heresy. Pelagius, though a Briton, does not appear to have propagated his peculiar opinions in his native island. They were introduced by Agricola, the son of a Pelagian bishop, from Gaul[4]. In this trouble, a deacon named Palladius, probably a Briton, induced Pope Cœlestinus to send to Britain Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who was accompanied by Lupus, bishop of Troyes[5]. These excellent men, preaching not only in the churches, but in the streets and lanes and fields, strengthened the Catholics in the faith and convinced gainsayers. During this visit Germanus is said to have led a body of newly-baptized Britons against the pagan Picts and Saxons, and—with a loud shout of *Alleluia* at the moment of onset—to have gained a great victory[6] over them at a place near Mold in

No persecution.

Pelagianism, 429.

The Alleluia Victory.

---

[1] Bede's expression (*H. E.* III. 4), that Ninian (c. 401) built a stone church "insolito Brittonibus more," might conceivably refer to the shape and size of the church; but it is more probably to be understood as implying that the Britons had not before seen a church of stone.

[2] *De Morte Persec.* c. 15.

[3] *H. E.* VIII. 13, § 13; *De Mart. Palæst.* 13, § 12; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. 6.

[4] Prosper Aquitan. *Chron.* an. 429, in H. and S. 15.

[5] *Id.* u. s. and *Cont. Collatorem*, c. 21, in H. and S. 16. Constantius however (*Vita Germani*, I. 31, 35 = Bede, *H. E.* I. 17), a good Gallican authority, says that an embassy from Britain came to Gaul, and that a numerous council of Gallican bishops deputed Germanus and Lupus to go to Britain. The pope is not mentioned.

[6] Constantius, *Vita Germani*, I. 40 = Bede, *H. E.* I. 20.

Germanus' second visit, c. 447.

Flintshire, which still retains the name of Maes Garmon, German's Field. The same heresy however broke out again, and about the year 447 the good Germanus, then an old man, was again summoned to give peace to the island. This time he was accompanied by Severus, bishop of Treves, and the efforts of the two were so successful that the heretical leaders were expelled, and from that time the Catholic faith in the island remained inviolate[1].

Saxons in Kent, 449.

From the middle of the fifth century a dark cloud covered Britain for about a hundred years[2]. From the time when the Romans gave up the island—perhaps earlier—Saxons[3] had settled here and there on the coast, but in 449 they landed in force in Kent, and began to push their conquests inland. The contest between the natives and the invaders was very different from that on the Continent. There, one or two battles generally sufficed to make the Teutons masters of a country; they settled down as rulers without uprooting all its social institutions. Here, the fight lasted for several generations; so late as the year 584 we find the Britons still valiantly resisting in the West[4]. The result of this long period of war and unrest was, that the Britons were exterminated or reduced to slavery in the South and centre of the country, and the remains of Romano-British civilization annihilated by the pagan invaders[5]. The Church however survived, though with a much diminished territory, in the Cambrian mountains, where the Britons still worship God in their churches in the ancient tongue of their forefathers; in Cumbria, in Cornwall, and perhaps in Armorica—the Little Britain beyond the sea which we now call Brittany. As was natural, when the British Christians were almost cut off from the Continent by the mass of pagan intruders, they retained several customs which had either been abandoned by the Church in

Battle of Frithern on the Severn, 584.

---

[1] Constantius, *Vita Germani*, II. 1—4 = Bede, *H. E.* I. 21.

[2] There is an entry in H. and S., p. 44, "A.D. 450—547, no records."

[3] I have thought it best to use the word "Saxon" as a general name for the Teutons who invaded Britain, as it is usually so understood in England. The word "English" has come to mean the nation formed by the fusion of all the tribes.

[4] *Saxon Chronicle*, an. 584.

[5] On the question how far English institutions were influenced by Roman, see F. Palgrave, *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.*

general, or had been always peculiar to themselves. They differed as to the time of their Easter, their form of baptism and of ordaining bishops, and their tonsure[1].

Before it was swept away from the most important portion of its old domain, the British Church had already begun the great work of Christianizing its pagan neighbours. St Ninian or Ninias[2], a bishop of British race who had been trained at Rome, early in the fifth century preached the Gospel to the southern Picts, Kelts who had never been brought under the dominion of the Romans, and who were consequently in a much ruder state than their kinsmen within the empire. Among these he built a church of stone—a strange sight to the Britons—at Whithorn, in Galloway, where he placed his episcopal seat, and which he dedicated in the name of St Martin of Tours, whom he had probably visited in his journeys across Gaul to and from Italy. There he died and was buried. Probably his work had little permanent effect, for the district appears to have been pagan when Columba reached its shores towards the end of the sixth century.

Ninias among the Picts, 401?

Ninian died, 432?

2. During the time when the British Church was enjoying quietness under the "Roman peace" which restrained the warring tribes, the great island to the west of it was still lying in darkness. It was called by Greek writers Ierne, by the Latins Hibernia and Juverna, but from the fifth century for many generations it bore the name of Scotia, Scotland[3], and its inhabitants were Scots, from that tribe of Milesian settlers who came most in contact with their neighbours on the eastern side of the Hibernian Sea. The early Irish poems and romances give the impression that, even before the advent of Christianity, there was in the island an ancient civilization of a type different from that of the Romans or the Teutons, and even from that of the Kelts of Britain or the Continent.

Ireland, called Scotland.

Irish civilization.

---

[1] On the British Easter see p. 396. For other differences, Hardwick's *Ch. Hist.* (*Middle Age*), p. 7, n. 4.

[2] Our knowledge of Ninias is derived almost wholly from Bede (*H. E.* III. 4), for the Lives are of late date. See H. and S. p. 35. Modern authorities are A. P. Forbes, *Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern*, Introd.; W. Grub, *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, I. c. 2; W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II. 3, 444; J. Pryce, *The Ancient British Church*, 104 ff.; J. Gammack in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 45 f.

[3] King Alfred in his translation of Orosius (p. 258, Bohn) speaks of "Hibernia, which we call Scotland."

Palladius sent to Ireland, 431.

Early in the fifth century however a missionary went, probably from our shores, to the western island. All that is really known of him is, that it is recorded under the year 431 that Palladius, the same who induced pope Cœlestinus to send Germanus to the Britons, was himself ordained by that pope, and sent as their first bishop to the Scots who believed in Christ[1]. Nennius tells us that he passed from Hibernia to Britain, where he died in the land of the Picts[2]. Of his work we have no history, but a cloud of legend has gathered round him, as was natural where little was known[3].

St Patrick,

But all previous mission work in Ireland was thrown into the shade by that of St Patrick[4], who is universally reverenced as the apostle of Ireland. This great saint was, like St Paul, freeborn. His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, who was also a decurio—one of the council, that is, of a municipium—who was son of Potibius, son of Odissus, a presbyter[1]. He was born, he tells us, at Bannavem Taberniæ, a place of which nothing is known, except that, since it had decuriones, it must have been within the empire. It was probably on the west coast of Britain, south of the wall of Antoninus[2]. Wherever it was, when he was sixteen years of age he was carried off by marauders, with his father's menservants and maidservants, and thousands of others, to Ireland[3]. There, a beardless boy, rough, untaught, he herded the cattle of his master—and prayed. In answer to his prayers he heard a voice in the night telling him that he would return to his native land[4]. He found a ship and was carried over the sea to the home of his parents, who rejoiced that among the pagans he had not fallen from the faith[5]. But he could not rest. He heard his old companions in the Western Isle calling on him to return, and an inward voice warned him that he was to become a bishop[6]. He proposed to go to preach the Gospel to those whom he had left behind. Friends naturally dissuaded him from rushing again into peril among a people that knew not God, but he withstood their prayers; he had vowed to God to teach the pagans even to the loss of life itself, if it so pleased Him[7]. He returned, and God gave him grace, he says in his simple way, to convert many people and ordain many clergy[8]. In particular, he tells us more than once[9] of the number of his converts who devoted themselves to the ascetic life. Young Scots became monks, and chieftains' daughters innumerable became handmaids of Christ. St Patrick's work succeeded, but not without suffering. He carried his life in his hand, and always looked for death, captivity, or slavery. Chieftains seized him and his companions with a view to kill them[1]. On at least one occasion a body of the newly baptized, still in their white raiment, were butchered or led captive[2];

---

[1] Prosper Aquitan. *Chronicon*, an. 431.

[2] Nennius, *Hist. Britonum*, c. 50.

[3] See the authorities discussed by Ussher, *Antiq. Eccl. Britannicarum*, c. 16; J. H. Todd, *St Patrick*, p. 270; G. T. Stokes in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 176 f.

[4] The only contemporary authorities for the life of St Patrick are his *Confessio* and *Epistola ad Corotici Subditos*, the former of which is found (imperfect) in the *Book of Armagh*, an ancient Irish MS., where it claims to have been copied from the saint's own autograph. Of the genuineness of these, which are among the most interesting documents of ancient history, there can be no reasonable doubt. The Irish Hymn of St Patrick, "the Breastplate," is also believed to be genuine, and gives a touching picture of his faith. The early (perhaps before A.D. 500) Hymn of St Sechnall (Secundinus) to St Patrick gives no historical particulars. The Hymn of St Fiacc (not earlier than the latter part of the 6th cent.) does contain some notices of the life. All these are printed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, II. 289—361. The oldest life is probably the *Acts of St Patrick* (c. 700) in the *Book of Armagh*, but the author admits that even when he wrote the facts had become obscure (see R. W. Hall in Schaff's *Encyclop.* p. 1764). The *Book of Armagh* contains also the annotations of Tirechan (of uncertain date), portions of which may be derived from very ancient sources. In addition to these, there are many legendary lives, seven of which were published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, tom. II. (Louvain, 1647). The principal documents are in the Bollandist *Acta SS.* 17 March, with *Commentarius Prævius*, tom. II. p. 517 ff., and *Appendix*, p. 580 ff.—Of modern Lives, J. H. Todd's *St Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland*, superseded all its predecessors. See also Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland;* Nicholson, *St Patrick* (Dublin, 1868); G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church;* and art. *Patricius* in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* IV. 200 ff.; Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of St Patrick*. C. Schöll (*De Eccl. Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus*) gives a fair account of the early literature, and his art. *Patricius* in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* is worth consulting.

born c. 378?

captive in Ireland, 394?

returns to Ireland, 432?

---

[1] *Confessio*, p. 296 (in Haddan and Stubbs); *Ad Corot.* (*ib.* 314).

[2] Some good authorities however (as G. T. Stokes) suppose it to have been on the north coast of Gaul.

[3] *Confessio*, p. 299; *Corot.* p. 316.

[4] *Confessio*, p. 300.

[5] *Confessio*, p. 303.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] *Ib.* p. 306; *Corot.* p. 314.

[8] *Confessio*, p. 307.

[9] *Ib.* p. 308; *Corot.* p. 317.

[1] *Confessio*, pp. 311, 312.

[2] *Corot.* p. 314.

Christians were sold to heathen Picts[1]; baptized women and the lands of orphans were distributed to the boon companions of chiefs[2]. How long his work in Ireland lasted is uncertain, as the dates given by the older authorities for his death vary from 457 to 493[3]. Nor is it known where or by whom he was ordained. He himself in his Confession tells us nothing on this point, though he seems to imply that there was some opposition to his consecration as bishop[4]. The ancient hymn of St Sechnall gives the impression that he received his apostleship, like St Paul, direct from heaven[5]. Some ancient authorities describe him as spending some time with Germanus[6] of Auxerre, and as being ordained by him[7], but nothing of this appears to be known to Constantius, Germanus's almost contemporary biographer. According to some accounts Germanus sent him to Rome, to be ordained by Cœlestinus himself, while again Cœlestinus is described[8] as causing him to be ordained by the "priest-king Amatho;" but Prosper, the pope's secretary, knows nothing of any connexion of Cœlestinus with Patrick, though he records the mission of Palladius, and the author of the life of Cœlestinus in the "Liber Pontificalis" is equally silent.

died 460?

Importance of monasticism.

It has been pointed out that St Patrick laid special stress on the inclination of the Scots of Ireland to the ascetic life, a circumstance which gave so great prominence to the monasteries which sprang up in all parts of the country that the ecclesiastical system established there may be described as monastic rather than diocesan. A monastery rather than an episcopal see was regarded as the centre of ecclesiastical life and organization for a district. Sometimes the abbat was himself a bishop, sometimes he had among his monks a bishop, who was under his jurisdiction, and performed episcopal offices for the monastery and its dependent district[1]—a state of things probably scarcely to be found elsewhere, though bishop-monks existed in the churches of St Denys and St Martin of Tours in France[2]. The greatest promoter of monasticism in Ireland was Brigida[3], now known as St Bridget or St Bride, who is said to have been born of noble blood, at Faugher, near Dundalk, about the year 453. There is a legend that in her infancy the house in which she was blazed with light and yet nothing was burned—a story which has led some to suppose that traits which originally belonged to the myth of a fire-goddess have been transferred to the saint, and it is stated that the Celtic goddess who was the patron of smiths was named Brigit, "the fiery arrow." Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that at Kildare St Bridget had a perpetual fire watched by twenty nuns. All that we know of her early life indicates vigour of character and sweetness of disposition, and an old hymn speaks of her as "a marvellous ladder for pagans to visit the kingdom of Mary's Son[4]." She refused marriage, and at last her father permitted her to dedicate herself to the Lord. The great event of her life was the foundation of the monastery of Kildare, for men and women, which soon had many affiliated establishments in all parts of the country. Bridget, like other heads of convents, had her own bishop, and with him she governed the other houses of her rule, together with their bishops. She is believed to have died at Kildare on the 1st Feb. 523, on which day she is commemorated in the Calendar, having earned by her works and her character the title of "the Mary of Ireland." Churches dedicated to St Bride in all

---

[1] *Corot.* p. 318.

[2] *Ib.* p. 219.

[3] All the dates in St Patrick's life are very uncertain. Those given in the margin are the Bollandist dates, which seem as probable as any.

[4] *Confessio*, p. 304.

[5] In H. and S. p. 324 ff. "Apostolatum a Deo sortitus est... Quem Deus misit ut Paulum ad gentes apostolum...Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum...Quem pro meritis Salvator provexit pontificem...Christus illum sibi legit in terris vicarium."

[6] "He went across all the Alps ...until he staid with German in the south, in the south part of Latium." St Fiacc's *Hymn*, in H. and S. 357. Fiacc probably confuses the legend of a journey to Rome with the legend of a visit to Germanus.

[7] Heiricus, *Miracula Germani*, II. 21 (*Acta SS.*, 31 July), quoted by Schöll, *Real-Encycl.* p. 207. See G. T. Stokes in *D. C. B.* IV. 203.

[8] "Der älteste Biograph" says that the pope after the retreat of Palladius "habe den Patricius von dem Priesterkönig Amatho ordiniren lassen." Schöll, u. s. p. 207.

St Bridget, born c. 453.

Founds Monastery of Kildare, c. 467.

dies 523?

---

[1] Todd's *St Patrick*, pp. 51 f., 88 f.

[2] Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. *Episcopi vagantes*.

[3] *Life* in *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, ed. Whitley Stokes (Calcutta); *Acta SS.* 1 Feb.; Colgan's *Trias Thaumat.;* J. H. Todd's *St Patrick*, pp. 10—26; O'Reilly's *Irish Dictionary*, *Suppl.* s.v. *Brigit;* Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist. Irel.* vol. I.; A. P. Forbes in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* I. 337 f.; T. Olden in *Dict. National Biogr.* VI. 340 ff.

[4] Broccan's *Hymn*, quoted by Olden, *D. N. B* 341.

parts of the British islands testify to the widespread reverence of her name.

Irish Christianity.

Christianity found a congenial soil in Ireland. Her warm-hearted and emotional people received with eagerness the story of the self-sacrifice of Christ and of the saints who followed Him. After the time of St Patrick there was little or no persecution. They had a natural bent towards poetry and art, and this was readily turned to Christian subjects; their songs soon came to celebrate Christian saints instead of pagan heroes. Nowhere perhaps was the whole literature of a country more distinctly influenced by the teaching of the Church, while retaining its own national character. And the remote situation of Ireland favoured her spiritual and intellectual development. While Britain and the Continent were overwhelmed by the Teutonic invasion, she enjoyed calm, and became a light to lighten the mainland of Europe, as well as her nearer neighbours.

St Columba, born c. 521,

founds Durrow and Derry c. 544;

at Iona, 563?

3. The earliest of the great Scoto-Irish missionaries was St Columba[1]. He was born in Ireland, probably in the year 521, of a noble family connected with the Dalriads of Caledonia, and is thought to have begun the foundation of monasteries, of which the chief were Durrow and Derry, about the year 544, when he had received priests' orders. Various reasons, among which it is difficult to distinguish the true one, are given for his leaving Ireland. Whatever the cause, in the year 563, the forty-second of his age, he crossed the strait in a frail bark of wicker covered with hides, and landed with twelve companions on the small isle of I, Hy, or Iona[2], afterwards known as Icolmkille, "the isle of Columba's cell," separated by a narrow strait

---

[1] The *Life of St Columba, written by Adamnan, ninth Abbat of Iona*, ed. by W. Reeves, leaves nothing to be desired, either as regards criticism of the sources or biography. J. Colgan, *Trias Thaumat.* 319—514, gives five Lives. A ms. collection of matter relating to St Columba, by M. O'Donnell, is in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 514 (see N. Moore in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xi. 413). See also Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist. Irel.*; Innes' *Hist. of Scotland* (Spalding Club, 1853); A. P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints;* Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.; J. Gammack and C. Hole in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* i. 602 ff.

[2] Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4; v. 24. On Iona, see L. Maclean, *Historical Account of Iona* (Edinb. 1833); Alexander Ewing, *The Abbey or Cathedral Church of Iona;* Duke of Argyll, *Iona;* James Drummond, *Sculptured Monuments in Iona*, etc.

from the larger island of Mull. There he founded a monastery, and made it the centre whence he and his followers preached the Gospel to the Picts, and revived religion among the Scots, who were already to some extent Christian. Hy was henceforth his chief abode, but he was too fully possessed by the eager spirit which urged so many of his countrymen to distant travel to remain quietly in one house. He and his monks undertook many journeys, penetrating, it is thought, as far north as Inverness and as far east as Aberdeen. So far as we know, it was he who first taught Christianity north of the Clyde and the Tay. He also frequently visited Ireland to take the oversight of the monasteries of his foundation. The chronology of this period is somewhat obscure, but it is probable that he died, after a life of constant activity, on June 9, A.D. 597. If this is correct, the Keltic apostle of Caledonia died in the very year in which Augustin set foot on the shore of Kent. A goodly company of disciples carried on Columba's work. The monastery of Iona, like other Keltic foundations of that age, had its bishop, subject to the abbat, and for two centuries it was the nursery of bishops, the centre of education, the asylum of religion, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Keltic race. During those two centuries its abbat retained an undisputed supremacy over all the monasteries and churches of Caledonia, and over those of half Ireland. A Rule bearing the name of Columba is extant in the old Irish tongue[1], but this is almost certainly a later production of some Columbite monk or hermit.

Columba died 597?

Power of Iona.

It is clear that the Scoto-Irish Church was developed in perfect independence of Rome, for it held for many generations customs—such as the predominance of abbats over bishops, a peculiar Easter and a peculiar tonsure—which Rome, when it had the power, put down. In the end, the Keltic Churches were absorbed by the Roman. It is curious to reflect that if they had been able to maintain their position the numerous missionaries who went forth from this island might have propagated on the Continent a non-papal Christianity, and Boniface might never have brought Germany under the dominion of the Supreme Pontiff. In that case, as the dissensions between

Consequences of the suppression of Keltic Churches.

---

[1] Printed by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, II. 119 ff.

Ch. XIV.

the Empire and the Church were for centuries the leading events in Europe, the whole course of mediæval history would have been changed. It is conceivable that the Reformation of the sixteenth century, largely occasioned as it was by the hatred felt by the Teutons for Italian ecclesiastics, might never have been required, or might have taken an entirely different course[1]. But it is idle to attempt to write the history of that which might have been.

---

[1] Kurtz, *Handbuch*, II. 78.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.	
31	Augustus emperor.
4 ?	Birth of JESUS CHRIST.
A.D.	
14	Tiberius emperor.
27 ?	THE LORD begins His ministry.
30 ?	Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the LORD. The Great Day of Pentecost.
36 ?	The Seven appointed. Death of St Stephen. St Philip at Samaria. Simon Magus. Conversion of St Paul.
42 ?	Gospel preached to Gentiles at Antioch. St Peter baptizes Cornelius.
44	SS. Paul and Barnabas in Antioch.
48	St Paul in Asia Minor. Judaizers at Antioch.
50	Conference at Jerusalem.
51—58	St Paul's journeys.
58	St Paul at Jerusalem. Imprisonment.
61	St Paul at Rome.
63	Release of St Paul and renewed activity.
64	Burning of Rome. Nero. Christians persecuted. Death of St James the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem. St John at Ephesus.
68 ?	Death of St Peter and St Paul.
70	Jerusalem captured and destroyed by Titus. Ebionite community at Pella.
81	Domitian emperor. St John in Patmos (?). Teaching of Cerinthus.
c. 90	Apollonius of Tyana.
c. 95	Epistle of Clement of Rome.
98	Trajan emperor. Death of St John (?).
101 ?	Book of Elchasai.
107—117	Deaths of Symeon of Jerusalem and Ignatius of Antioch.
111	Christians in Bithynia. Trajan's Rescript.
117	Hadrian emperor. Edict against Christian-baiting. The Gnostics Basilides and Saturninus teach.
130 ?	Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides. Montanus teaches.
138	Antoninus Pius emperor.
145 ?	Hermas, *Pastor*.

A. D.	
147 ?	Justin Martyr's Apologies.
148 ?	Martyrdom of Justin Martyr.
c. 150	Marcion at Rome.
c. 175	Praxeas teaches.
c. 177	Apologies of Athenagoras and Melito.
178	Irenæus bishop of Lyons.
c. 180	Apologies of Theophilus and Minucius Felix. Hegesippus writes.
c. 190	Tertullian ordained presbyter.
193	Septimius Severus emperor.
c. 198	Tertullian's Apology.
c. 200	Noetus teaches.
c. 202	Irenæus dies. Clement head of Alexandrian School.
203	Severe persecution in Alexandria and North Africa.
	Origen (aged 18) begins to teach in Alexandria.
c. 210	Caius the Roman presbyter writes.
c. 215	Sabellius teaches.
218	Callistus bishop of Rome. Question of heretical baptism arises.
c. 220	Hippolytus writes.
c. 238	Mani (Manichæus) begins to teach.
246	Dionysius bishop of Alexandria.
248	Cyprian bishop of Carthage.
c. 249	Origen writes against Celsus.
249	Decius emperor.
c. 250	Besides the higher orders, subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, readers and doorkeepers are found.
250	Edict against Christians. Severe persecution. Controversy as to the "Lapsed."
	Schism of Felicissimus and Novatus at Carthage.
251	Schism of Novatianus at Rome.
253	Valerian emperor. Persecution.
254	Origen dies.
256	Council at Carthage.
258—9	Death of St Cyprian and St Laurence.
260	Paul of Samosata teaches.
c. 270	Gregory Thaumaturgus dies. St Anthony becomes a hermit.
277	Mani put to death.
c. 280	Porphyry writes against Christianity.
284	Diocletian emperor. Nineteen years' peace.
c. 290	Dorotheus and Lucian at Antioch.
302	Gregory the Illuminator Bishop in Armenia.
303	Three edicts against Christians, Diocletian reluctant.
304	Fourth and more severe edict.
c. 304—8	Lactantius writes.
305	Diocletian and Maximian abdicate. Galerius carries on the persecution.
	Arnobius writes.
306	Meletian schism.
311	Edict of Toleration.

A. D.	
	Schism at Carthage.
312	Battle of the Milvian Bridge. Constantine master of the Western empire.
313	Constantine and Licinius issue the Edict of Milan.
314—321	Measures of Constantine favouring the Church.
314	Synod of Arles decides against Carthaginian schismatics.
315	Donatus schismatical bishop of Carthage.
316	Donatists appeal to Constantine.
c. 320	Arius teaches at Alexandria that the Son of God is not co-eternal with the Father.
323	Constantine overcomes Licinius and becomes sole emperor.
325	Foundation of New Rome, afterwards called Constantinople.
	Constantine summons the First Œcumenical Council at Nicæa. Creed adopted asserting the co-eternity and consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. An Arian party formed.
	Pachomius founds Egyptian monasticism.
326	Helena in Palestine.
327	Frumentius converts the Ethiopians.
328	Athanasius bishop of Alexandria.
330	Dedication of New Rome.
335	Athanasius deposed by the Synod of Tyre.
	Cœnobium at Tabenna.
336	Athanasius exiled. Marcellus of Ancyra deposed from his see. Death of Arius. Julius becomes pope.
337	Death of Constantine. Constans, emperor of the West, and Constantius, emperor of the East, favour Arianism.
	Donatist outrages in Africa.
340	Rise of the Audians.
341	A Council at Antioch decrees the deposition of Athanasius and draws up four Formularies of Faith.
	Monasticism becomes known at Rome, and is introduced into Syria and Palestine by Hilarion.
343	Persecution of Christians in Persia by Sapor II.
	Ulfilas, the Apostle of the Goths, made bishop.
344 ?	Councils of Sardica and Philippopolis; the former acquits, the latter condemns Athanasius.
345	Council at Antioch; the "Prolix Exposition."
	Photinus condemned.
346	Athanasius returns to Alexandria.
348	Paulus and Macarius, imperial commissioners, attempt to restore peace in Africa. Donatus exiled.
350	Constantius sole emperor. Persecution of Gothic Christians. Ulfilas in Nicopolis.
	Theophilus of Diu in Arabia.
351	Synod at Sirmium. First Sirmian Formula.
	Photinus deposed.
352	Liberius becomes Pope.

A. D.	
353	Anti-Nicene Synod at Arles; Athanasius condemned as a rebel.
355	Synod at Milan. Liberius of Rome, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and others, driven into exile.
356	Athanasius flees into the wilderness.
357	Arian Council at Sirmium. Second Sirmian Formula.
c. 358	Rule of St Basil.
358	Third Sirmian Formula.
	Liberius subscribes (probably) the Second Sirmian Formula.
359	Council at Rimini; majority at first Nicene.
	Council at Nice (Νίκη) adopts substantially the Second Sirmian Formula, which is then accepted at Rimini.
360	Council at Constantinople adopts the Formula of Nice; use of *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* forbidden.
	Arianism apparently dominant.
361	Death of Constantius. Julian succeeds and attempts to revive paganism, which after his time steadily declines.
	Athanasius returns to Alexandria.
362	Council at Alexandria attempts to restore union to the Church. Luciferian schism at Antioch.
	Apollinaris teaches.
363	Julian dies and is succeeded by Jovian.
	Synod at Antioch.
364	Valentinian I. emperor in the West, Valens (an Arian) in the East.
366	Damasus Pope. Narses Catholicus of Armenia.
	Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Cyril of Jerusalem are prominent as defenders of the Faith.
c. 368	Frumentius in Abyssinia.
c. 370	Renewed persecution of Christian Goths. Ulfilas begins his translation of the Bible.
c. 370	Basil's hospital at Cæsarea.
	Antidicomarianites.
c. 372	Council of Laodicea. Canon made on Scripture.
373	Death of Athansius.
374	Ambrose chosen Bishop of Milan.
375	The emperor Gratian renounces the title of Pontifex Maximus.
	Apollinaris becomes schismatic.
	Priscillianists in Spain (?).
378	Death of Valens.
379	Theodosius emperor in the East; favours orthodoxy.
	In the West Justina, mother of Valentinian II., supports Arianism.
380	Synod at Saragossa condemns the Priscillianists.
381	Second Œcumenical Council at Constantinople; reaffirms the Nicene Creed; condemns the tenets of Apollinaris.
	Helvidius denies the perpetual virginity of St Mary.

A. D.	
382	Jerome in Rome.
383	Ulfilas dies in Constantinople.
384	Symmachus protests against the removal of the altar of Victory from the Senate-house at Rome.
385	Siricius becomes Pope. The earliest genuine papal decretals are his. Enjoins celibacy of the clergy. Execution of Priscillian and two adherents.
	Theophilus made bishop of Alexandria.
387	Augustin baptised.
388	Death of Justina. Henceforth Arianism declines.
c. 388	Jovinian denies the merit of asceticism.
389	Jovinian's opinions on Baptism condemned.
393	Donatist Council in Africa.
394	Epiphanius in Palestine. Beginning of Origenistic controversy.
395	Honorius emperor in the West, Arcadius in the East.
395	Augustin bishop of Hippo.
	Simeon Stylites.
397	Death of Ambrose. John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople.
398	Rufinus and Jerome intervene in Origenistic controversy.
400	Persecution of Christians in Persia begins.
	Hostility of Theophilus towards Chrysostom.
400 ?	A Synod at Alexandria condemns Origen's books. End of first period of Origenistic controversy.
401 ?	Ninias among the Picts.
402	Innocent I. Pope. The Synod of the Oak deposes Chrysostom, who is exiled.
403	Chrysostom recalled.
404	Chrysostom again banished.
	Synod at Carthage entreats the emperor to put down schismatical assemblies.
	The self-sacrifice of Telemachus puts an end to gladiatorial combats.
405	Jerome completes his translation of the Bible.
	Pelagius at Rome. Cassian founds convents near Marseilles.
	Edicts of Honorius against Donatists.
407	Chrysostom dies in exile.
410	The West-Goths under Alaric take Rome.
411	Conference with the Donatists in Carthage.
	Pelagius and his disciple Cœlestius in Africa.
413	A Council at Carthage condemns the opinions of Cœlestius.
414	Severe edicts against Donatists.
	Persecution renewed in Persia.
415	Synod at Diospolis pronounces Pelagius orthodox.
416	Synods at Carthage and Milevis condemn Pelagius.
	St Augustin writes against his opinions.
417	Pope Zosimus restores Pelagius and Cœlestius to communion.

A. D.	
418	Council at Carthage again condemns Pelagianism, and forbids appeals to Rome.
428	Nestorius rejects the expression "Mother of God."
429	Vandal conquest of North Africa.
	Pelagianism in Britain. Mission of Germanus and Lupus.
430	A Roman synod under Cœlestinus declares Nestorius heretical. Cyril's Anathematisms.
	Death of Augustin. Monks of Southern Gaul oppose his predestinarian opinions.
431	Œcumenical Council of Ephesus condemns Nestorius and Cœlestius. Counter-council condemns Cyril.
	Prosper of Aquitaine defends Augustinianism.
	Mission of Palladius to Ireland.
432	St Patrick returns to Ireland, and begins the work of conversion.
433	Antiochene Confession.
c. 434	Vincentius's *Commonitorium.*
435	Nestorius banished. Nestorian School at Edessa and in Persia.
444	Eutyches teaches that the Humanity in Christ is completely absorbed in the Divinity.
c. 445	The book *Prædestinatus* published.
447?	First Council of Toledo; the Holy Spirit "a Patre Filioque procedens."
	Second visit of Germanus to Britain.
448	Eutyches condemned by a Synod at Constantinople.
449	The "Band of Brigands" at Ephesus.
	The "Tome" of Leo.
	Pagan Saxons land in Kent.
451	Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon recognises Cyril as orthodox; defines that our Lord is "of one essence with the Father as touching His Godhead, of one essence with us as touching His Manhood"; deposes Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria.
	Monophysite troubles begin in Palestine.
452	Violence of the party of Dioscorus in Alexandria.
	Rogations instituted by Mamertus at Vienne.
457	Leo I. emperor.
	Easter-Cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine.
c. 467	St Bridget founds the monastery of Kildare.
c. 469	Laura of St Sabas founded.
470	The Monophysite Peter the Fuller, bishop of Antioch, adds to the Trisagion "God...Who wast crucified for us."
c. 470	A penitentiary priest appointed at Rome.
474	Zeno emperor.
475	Synod at Arles condemns Prædestinarianism.
482	Zeno's *Henoticon*, intended to put an end to the Monophysite troubles.
491	Anastasius emperor.

A. D.	
496	Battle of Zülpich. Baptism of Chlodwig.
500	The Burgundians conquered by the Franks.
c. 500	Collection of Canons by Dionysius Exiguus.
507	The West-Goths in Gaul overcome by the Franks.
511	Council at Epaon.
514	Anti-Monophysite riots at Constantinople.
518	Justin emperor. Orthodoxy triumphant.
520	Renewal of Origenistic Controversy.
527	Justinian emperor.
529	Council at Orange affirms Augustinian doctrine.
	Benedict founds the Monastery of Monte Cassino.
530	Sabas at Constantinople against Origenists.
532	Easter-Cycle of Dionysius Exiguus.
532	Building of St Sophia at Constantinople.
533	Belisarius subdues the Vandals in Africa.
538	Vigilius Pope.
c. 540	Cassiodorus founds the Monasterium Vivariense.
544	Justinian's *Tria Capitula.*
c. 547	*Breviarium* of Canon Law by Fulgentius Ferrandus.
548	Vigilius' *Judicatum.*
549	Illyrian Council opposes the emperor ; so also
550	an African Council.
553	Œcumenical Council at Constantinople confirms the emperor's Edicts ; strikes out the name of Vigilius from the diptychs. Condemnation of Origen attributed by some to this council.
554	Vigilius accepts the decrees of the council.
	Monophysite schism becomes permanent.
c. 563	St Columba at Iona.
573	Gregory bishop of Tours.
589	Council at Toledo affirms the Catholic Faith. First appearance of "Filioque" in the (so-called) Nicene Creed.

INDEX.

Abdas of Susa 417
Abgar 58
Abyssinian Church 415
Acacius of Cæsarea 268
Acacius of Constantinople excommunicated by Felix III. 297
Achaia, Christianity in 60
Acolyths 131
Ædesius 415
Aetius, his teaching 268; banished 271
Africa, Christianity in 59
African School 75
African Church resists claims of Rome 194
African Council (A.D. 550) 302
Agapæ 157
Aizan, king 415
Alb (vestment) 383
Allegorical interpretation, Jewish 11; Christian 74, 254
Alexander opposes Arius' teaching 257
Alexandria, Jews in 10; Christianity in 59; School of 69, 72, 224; eminence of 139; diocese of 183; Synod of (A.D. 362) 272, (c. A.D. 400) 307; Monophysite riots at 295
Almsgiving as atonement 333; duty of 335
Altar 408
Ambones 408
Ambrose, St, life 240
Anastasius, emperor 298
Anastasius, Pope, condemns Rufinus 306
Anastasius, presbyter, protests against the title "Mother of God" 285
Andrew, St 26
Angels, reverence for 404
Anomœans 268
Anthimus of Constantinople deposed 300
Anthony, St 145
Antidicomarianites 404
Antioch, Gentile Church at 16; eminence of 139; diocese of 183; School of 215; troubles at (A.D. 362) 273; council of (A.D. 341) 264, (A.D. 345) 265, (A.D. 378) 277; confession of (A.D. 433) 289
Antiphonal chanting 386
Apelles 91
Aphraates, life 223
Aphthartodocetæ 299, 303
Apocrisiarii 176
Apollinaris, the two, life 229; teaching of 281; condemned at Alexandria 282; treatises forged to support their opinions 283; become schismatic 283
Apollonius of Tyana 51
Apollonius, martyr 41
Apologists, Christian 53
Apostles, the Twelve 14
Apostolic Churches, authority of 112
Apostolic Constitutions, 148
Appeals to Rome allowed by Council of Sardica 187; forbidden by African Church 319
Aquarii 101
Aquileia separates from Roman Church 304
Arabia, Christianity in 59, 416
Archdeacon 129, 176
Architecture 165, 407
Archpresbyters 180
Ariminum, Council of 270

Aristides, Apologist 55
Arius, his teaching 256; condemned by Council of Nicæa 261
Aristotle, influence of 238
Arles, see of, resists claims of Rome 195; Council of (A.D. 314) 340, (A.D. 353) 267, (A.D. 475) 324
Armenia, Christianity in 58, 68, 417
Armenian version of the Bible 418
Arnobius 79
Ascension Day 164, 398
Asceticism 144, 349
Asia Minor, Christianity in 59, 63
Asylum, right of 172
Athanaric, king, persecutes 422
Athanasius, St, life 227; deposed and banished to Treves 263; at Rome *Ib.*; deposition confirmed at Antioch 264; acquitted by Roman Synod 265; returns to Alexandria (A.D. 346) 266; condemned as rebel withdraws into the wilderness 267; returns from exile 272; brought monks into the West 358
Athenagoras, Apologist 56
Athens, School of, closed 209
Atrium 408
Audians 357
Augustin, St, life and works 246; influences Western expression of the mystery of the Trinity 280; engages in Pelagian controversy 317; in Donatist controversy 344; on the Fall of Rome 210
Autocephali 185
Avitus of Vienne, Augustinian, 326; converts Burgundians 427

"Band of Brigands," the 293
Baptism, in Apostolic times 26; confession in 114; rites of 151, 371; of infants 152, 372; in blood 152; by heretics 153; seasons of 370; deferred 372; lay 373; heretical 373
Baptistery 409
Barcochba 34
Barnabas, Epistle of 63
Bartholomew, St 26
Basil the Great, St, life 231; Canonical Epistles 331; Rule of 356
Basil of Ancyra, Homoiousian 268
Basilican churches, 407
Basilides 100
Basin for ablution 408
Bema of church 408
Benedict founds monastery of Monte Cassino 363; Rule of *Ib.*
Beneficence of the Church 335
Beryllus 120
Betrothal 389
Bible, see Scripture
Bishops 30, 126; one bishop in a city 128; election of 133; consecration of 134; under the Empire 176; election of 177; under Teutonic kings 179; ordination of 394; married 351; monastic 439
Bithynia, Christians in 39
Boethius 250
Bonosus 404
Books, prohibited 215
Bosci 353
Bread, Eucharistic 382
Bridget, St 439
British Church 62, 431; slightly connected with Rome 195; scanty records of 432
British customs 434
Burial of the Dead 158
Burial-clubs 36

Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage 339
Cælicolæ 202
Cæsarea in Palestine, privileges of Church of 138
Cæsarius of Arles, Augustinian 326
Cainites 101
Caius the Roman Presbyter 83
Calendars 405
Callistus 81; his Christology 120; laxity of 149
Calumnies against Christians 37
Campitæ 341
Canon Law 148, 328
Canon of Scripture 108, 252
Canonici 180
Cancelli 408
Carthage, Synod of (A.D. 404) 345, (A.D. 416) 318, (A.D. 418) 319
Cassian founds monasteries 359; his *De Cœnobiorum Institutis* 360; *Collationes Patrum* 361; opposes predestinarian opinions 322
Cassiodorus founds Monasterium Vivariense 365
Catacombs 159

Catechumenate 151, 370
Cathari 149
Celibacy, civil penalties on abolished 334
Celibacy of clergy 135, 350; in the West 351; civil legislation on 352
Celsus's attack on Christianity 50
Cerdon 90
Cerinthus 100
Chalcedon, Œcumenical Council of 294
Chaldæa, Christianity in 58
Chartophylax 176
Chastity, vows of 145
Chasuble 384
Chiliasm 122
Chlodwig, king of the Franks, marries Clotilda 425; his vow 425; conquers the Alemanni 426; baptism 426; conquers the Burgundians and the West-Goths 427
Chorepiscopi 133; abolished 181
"Christian," the name given 16
Christians recognised as a Corporation 48
Christian Life 142, 334, 349
Christmas-Day 398
Chrysostom, St John, life 217; on monachism 366
Churches, building of 166, 407; arrangements of 166, 408; domed 409; dedication of 409
Circumcellions 341
Circumcision, festival 399
Classics, influence of on Christian writers 213
Clement of Rome, life 82
Clement of Alexandria, life 70
Clementine writings 87
Clergy and Laity 125
Clergy, qualifications of 135; maintenance of 136; privileges of, under the Empire 171; faults of 337; training of 393; Frankish 428; become more secular 429
Cœlestinus declares Nestorius heretical 288
Cœlestius (see Pelagius), his opinions 316; condemned by council at Carthage 317; friendly with Nestorius 320; condemned with him at Ephesus 320
Collegia 36
Collyridians 404
Columba, St, at Iona 440
Commodian 78
Communion, Holy, rites of 27, 157, 380; frequency of 382; fasting 383
Competentes 371
Confessio for relics 408
Confession of sin 147, 333; baptismal 114
Confirmation 26, 152, 372
Consecration of bishops 134; of churches 409
Constantine joins in issuing an Edict of Toleration 47; and Edict of Milan 48; his measures in favour of the Church 168; his character 169; founds New Rome 170; his letter to Alexander and Arius 257
Constantinople, foundation of 170; diocese of 183; Council of (A.D. 360) 271; Œcumenical Council of (A.D. 381) 277; Creed of 278; Council of (A.D. 449) 292; Council at (A.D. 483) 423; Œcumenical Council at (A.D. 553) 302
Constitutions, Apostolical 148
Copiatæ 175
Cornelius baptized 16
Councils 137; later system of 196; decrees of ratified by emperors 198
Creation, doctrine of 115
Creed, the 255; see Rules of Faith
Cross, sign of 143, 385; the true 406
Crown in marriage 390
Cyprian, life 77
Cyril of Alexandria, life 237; his proceedings against Nestorius 287; his anathematisms 288; deposed by a council at Ephesus 289; accepts Confession of Antioch 289
Cyril of Jerusalem, life 217

Damianites 299
De Vocatione Gentium 324
Deacons 29, 129
Deaconesses 132, 176
Dead, offerings for 333; intercession for 379
Defensores 175
Didymus of Alexandria 229
Diocesan councils 196
Diocese defined 182

Diocletian persecutes 44; abdicates 46
Diodorus of Tarsus, life 217
Diognetus, Epistle to 55
Dionysius of Alexandria 74
Dionysius the Areopagite 237
Dionysius of Milan banished 267
Dionysius Exig., Collection of canons 329; Paschal cycle of 396
Dioscorus proceeds against Nestorius 292
Diospolis, Synod of (A.D. 415) 318
Discipline 147, 328
Divorce, laws of 143, 334
Docetism 98, 100, 116
Dominica in Albis Depositis 371
Donatus, schismatical bishop of Carthage 339; exiled 343
Donatists, Constantine's commission on 339; condemned by Council of Arles 340; appeal to Constantine 340; behave violently in Africa 341; Constans' commission on 342; Gratian's edict against 343; council 344; opposed by Augustin 344; by African councils 344; edicts of Honorius 345, 347; conference with, at Carthage 345; end of 347
Door-keepers 131
Dorotheus of Antioch 67
Dorotheus, bishop, protests against the title "Mother of God" 285
Dositheus 32
Dove, Eucharistic 408

East, turning to 157, 386
Easter, disputes as to time of observing 161, 395; cycles 163, 396; how celebrated 398
Ebionites 86; their Christology 116
Edessa, Christianity in 58; School of 222, 291
Election of bishops 133, 177; of other clergymen 134
Elements, Eucharistic 382
Elesbaan, king 416
Ember Days 395
Emperor, influence of on the Church 173
Epaon, Council of 427
Encratites 101, 144
Ephesus, Œcumenical Council of 288; Council of (A.D. 449) 293
Ephraem the Syrian 222
Epiklesis, liturgical 379
Epiphanius, life 230; begins Origenistic Controversy 305
Epiphany 398
Epistle, liturgical 376
Esdras, Second Book of 11
Essence (οὐσία) explained, 271 f., 275
Essenes 9
Eucharist, Holy 27, 154, 374; a sacrifice 375
Euchetæ 201
Eudocia 295
Eudoxius of Antioch 268
Eulogiæ 382
Eunomius, his teaching 268
Euphemitae 202 n. 2
Eusebius of Dorylæum 292, 293
Eusebius of Emesa, life 216; Homoiousian 268
Eusebius of Nicomedia opposes Athanasius 262; bishop of Constantinople 263
Eusebius Pamphili, life 224; not Arian 262
Eusebius of Vercelli banished 267
Eustathius of Antioch 260; deposed 262
Eustathius of Sebaste, Homoiousian 268, 277
Eutyches, his views on the Person of Christ 291; excommunicated 292
Euzoïus, bishop of Antioch 274
Excommunication 32, 147
Exorcists 130

Facundus of Hermiane 302
Faustus of Riez, influence of 324
Felicissimus, schism of at Carthage 149
Felix III Pope condemns the Henoticon 297
Festivals, cycle of 394
Flavian of Constantinople 292
Font 409
Fortunatus, anti-bishop 150
Frankish kings, power of in the Church 430; clergy 429
Franks, conversion of the 425
Free Will, see Pelagius and Pelagianism
Friday, a station 161
Fritigern, king 422
Frumentius 415

Fulgentii *Breviarium* 330
Fulgentius of Ruspe 325
Funerals, hour of 391

Gaul, Christianity in 61, 66
Gems bearing Christian symbols 167
Gentile Church in Antioch 16
Genuflexion before pictures 414
George of Cappadocia in Alexandria 268
George of Laodicea, Homoiousian 268
Germanus in Britain 433
Germany, Christianity in 61
Glass with Christian symbols 167
Gnostic, the Christian 73
Gnosticism 96; influence of 101
Good Friday 398
Gospel, liturgical 376
Goths in the empire 420; converted to Arianism 421
Gratian's Rescript on appeals 188; favours orthodoxy 277; issues rescript against Priscillianists 313
Greek culture in Palestine 9
Gregory the Illuminator 68
Gregory Thaumaturgus 74
Gregory of Nazianzus, life 232
Gregory of Nyssa, life 234; on penitence 330
Gregory of Tours, life 429

Hadrametum, Predestinarian monks at 321
Hadrian's Edict touching Christians 40
Hands, washing of 379, 385
Hegesippus 65
Helena in Palestine 406
Helvidius 404
Heresy, conception of 113
Hermas 82
Hermias's attack on philosophers 56
Hermits 145
Hetæriæ 36
Hierax 74
Hierocles's "Truth-loving Words" 53
Hilary of Poitiers, life 239; banished 267; on Liberius 269
Hippolytus of Portus 84; his Christology 119; anti-bishop to Callistus 149
Holy Days 28, 160, 394
Holy Places 406
Holy Spirit, doctrine of 272
Holy Things, liturgical form 379
Holy water 385
Holy Week 164, 397
Homoousios (ὁμοούσιος) the word, condemned at Antioch (A.D. 269) 118 note 3; adopted at Nicæa (A.D. 325) 261; ambiguity of 271 note 3
Honoratus, St 359
Hormisdas on Pelagianism 325
Hosius of Cordova advises Constantine 258; banished 267
Hospitals 335
Hours of Prayer 158, 387
Hydroparastatæ 101
Hyginus of Cordova 311
Hypatia, murder of 208
Hypsistarii 202

Ibas of Edessa, life and work 223, 291
Iconium, Council at 95
Idacius of Merida 311
Idolatry forbidden 207
Ignatius, life and letters 64; death 40
Illiberis, Council of 61
Illyrian Council (A.D. 374?) (A.D. 549) 276, 302
Illicit religions 35
Incarnation, controversies on the 281
Incense 384
Infants, Communion of 382
Innocent I. on the claims of Rome 188
Inspiration of Scripture 110
Intercession, right of 172
Irenæus, life of 66
Ireland, Christianity in 435
Irish Church, monasticism prominent in 438
Isaac, translator of the Bible 418
Isidore of Pelusium 235
Isidore of Seville, his Collection of canons 330
Italy, Christianity in 60
Ithacius of Sossuba 312

Jacob Baradai 303
James, St, the Just 21
James of Nisibis, 222
Jerome, St, life and works 242;

finds errors in Origen 305f.; quarrels with Rufinus 306; promotes monachism 358
Jerusalem, Church of, precedence of 138; diocese of 184
Jesus Christ begins His Ministry 13; crucified 14
Jewish Dispersion 10
Johannes Philoponus 238, 299
Johannes Scholasticus, his Syntagma 329
John, St, the Baptist 13; The Evangelist 24
John of Antioch 289, 291
John of Jerusalem, Origenist 305
Jovinian, against asceticism 366; condemned by Siricius *Ib.*; on baptism 374; denies that St Mary was ever-virgin 404
Judaism in the time of Christ 7; in the Apostolic age 31
Julian the emperor, his measures in favour of paganism 203
Julian of Eclanum, Pelagian 320
Julianists 299
Julius Africanus 67
Junilius Africanus 224
Justin Martyr, Apology 55; his opinions 68; his account of the Eucharist 155
Justin the Gnostic 101
Justin, emperor, supports decrees of Chalcedon 298
Justinian, emperor, suppresses paganism 209; intervenes in Monophysite controversy 300; his Three Articles 301; calls Œcumenical Council 302; writes against Origen 309
Justina, empress, supports Arianism 279

Kathari 149
Kiss in Eucharist 379, 385
Kneeling in prayer 386
Labarum, the 48
Lactantius 79
Lampsacus, Council at 276
Laodicea, Council of 95
Lapsed, the 77
Latin theology 239
Lauras 354
Law of the Church 147, 328
Lections 27, 155, 156, 376; in hour-offices 387
Legends of martyrs 49
Lent, observance of 164, 396
Leo I. (pope), life and works 249; on the claims of Rome 189; letter of 293
Leo I, emperor 296
Leontius of Byzantium 238
Leporius, his erroneous opinion 284
Lerinum, monastery of 359
Liberius (pope), banished 267; subscribes Sirmian formula 269; receives Eastern bishops 277
Lights, ceremonial use of 385
Literature, decline of 214
Liturgies, families of 380
Living, intercession for 379
Logos, The 116, 121
Lombards, Arian 428
Lord's Day, observance of 160, 395
Love-Feasts 157
Lucian the satirist 50
Lucian of Antioch 67; his Confession 264
Lucifer of Cagliari, banished 267; at Antioch 274
Luciferians 275
Lupercalia at Rome 209
Lupus in Britain 433

Macedonians 273
Majorinus, schismatical bishop of Carthage 339
Manichæism 102
Maniple 384
Marathonians 273, n. 4
Marcellinus, Imperial Commissioner in Africa 345
Marcellus of Ancyra, his opinions 263; condemned 264; acquitted by Roman Synod 265
Marcion 89
Maris 58
Marcus Aurelius, persecutes 41
Marriage, sacredness of 142; rites of 158, 388
Martin of Tours promotes destruction of temples 208; opposes trial of Priscillian by a civil tribunal 314
Marseilles, convents near 359
Martyrs, number of 49
Mary, St, the Virgin 403
Massalians 201
Maundy Thursday 397
Maximus causes Priscillian to be tried 314

Meletian schism 150
Melito, Apologist 56
Menander 32
Mensurius of Carthage 338
Meropius 415
Mesrob, translator of the Bible 418
Methodius of Tyre 75
Metropolitans 138, 181
Milan, Edict of 48; Councils at 266, 267
Milevis, Synod of (A.D. 416) 318
Ministry of the Church 28, 124
Minucius Felix, his Octavius 56; date of 84
Missa catechumenorum 376; Fidelium 379
Mitre, bishop's 394
Monachism 352; evils of 357
Monarchians 117
Monks at first not clergy 367; not always subject to bishops *Ib.*; civil laws respecting 368
Monoimus or Menahem 101
Monophysites, their heresy 295; conference with 300; their churches 303
Montanism 92
Montenses 341
Mosaics in churches 411
Moses of Khoren 418
Music 386
Mysteries, pagan 5; the Christian 369

Naasseni 101
Narses, Catholicus 418
Narthex 408
Natures, two, in Christ 294
Nazarenes 86
Nemesius 236
Neo-Platonism and Christianity 53
Nestorians at Edessa and in Persia 291
Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople 284; protests against the title "Mother of God" 285; condemned at Ephesus 288; retires to a monastery 289; death *Ib.*
Nicæa, Council of, meets 258; creed of 261; results of 262
Nice (Nίκη), Council of 270
Ninian preaches to the Picts 435
Niobites 299
Nitrian monks, Origenist 307
Noetus 119
Nomocanon 329
Notarii 175
Novatianus at Rome 149
Novatus at Carthage 150
Nun, the name 355

Œconomic 175
Œcumenical councils 196; how related to the civil government 197
Ophites 101
Orange, Council of (A.D. 529) partly lay 326
Orders of the Ministry 126
Ordination, qualifications for 392; rites of 393
Oriental Religions 5
Origen, life 70; against Celsus 57; his Christology 121
Origenist opinions opposed by Epiphanius 305; defended by Rufinus *Ib.*; opposed by Jerome *Ib.*; condemned by Anastasius 306; and Theophilus 307; at Alexandria 307; in Cyprus 308; appear in monastery of St Sabas 308; condemned by Justinian 309; by Home Synod of Constantinople 309; said to be condemned by Fifth Œcumenical Council 309
Orphans, care of 143, 335
Orosius on the Teutonic invasion, 211

Pachomius, Rule of 355
Paganism, state of 4; resistance of 12; measures of Constantine against 199; of Constans and Constantius 200; of Gratian and Valentinian 206; of Theodosius 207; of Justinian 209; Julian's measures in favour of 204; defends itself 202; lingers long in Rome 209; and elsewhere 210
Palladius in Ireland 436
Palm Sunday 397
Pamphilus 75
Pantænus, preaches in "India" 59
Papacy, how affected by the Fall of the Western Empire 190; resistance to claims of 194. See Rome
Papias 65
Parabolani 175
Parmenian, Donatist bishop 343

Parochial councils 196
Paris, Council of (A.D. 360) 271
Parish defined 183
Paschal festival 161, 397; cycles 163, 396
Patriarchs 181
Patriarchal councils 196
Patrick, St, in Ireland 436
Patripassians 118
Paul, St, converted 16; at Antioch, in Asia Minor, in Jerusalem 17; new travels 18; arrested at Jerusalem 19; at Rome *Ib.*; death 20
Paul of Samosata 118
Paulinus of Nola, life 248
Paulinus of Treves banished 267
Pelagianism in fifth century 321; supported by monks of Southern Gaul 323; opposed by Prosper 324; modified by Faustus 324; opposed by African bishops 325; by Hormisdas 325; condemned by Councils of Orange and Valence 326; in Britain 433
Pelagius (heretic), teaches at Rome 315; in Africa 317; in Palestine *Ib.*; acquitted by Synod at Diospolis 318; condemned by African Synod 318; his Confession 319
Pelagius I, Pope 302
Penance 147
Penitentials, British and Irish 331
Penitentiary priest 332
Penitential System 330; change of in fourth and fifth centuries 331
Peratici 101
Pentecost, the Great Day of 14; festival of 164
Persecutions of Christians by Jews 34; by Romans 35; under Nero 38; Trajan 39; Antoninus Pius 40; M. Aurelius 41; Decius 43; Valerian 44; Diocletian 44; number of 49; of heretics by Christians 174
Periodeutæ 180
Persia, Christianity in 59, 417
Persons in Holy Trinity 280
Peter, St, in Jerusalem 21; at Antioch 22; death *Ib.*; Roman episcopate *Ib.*; his teaching 23
Peter the Fuller at Antioch 296; expelled 297
Peter Mongus at Alexandria 296
Pharisees 8
Phiala 408
Philip, St, at Samaria 15; baptises Ethiopian Eunuch 16; death 26
Philippopolis, Council of 365
Philo allegorizes 11
Philostratus, pagan writer 51
Philoxenus (Xenajas) supports Monophysite view 298
Photinas condemned 266
Phthartolatræ 299
Pictures in churches 166, 409; reverence paid to 413
Pilgrimages to Holy Places 406
Platonism 6
Pliny's letter to Trajan 39
Pneumatomachi 273
Poictiers, monastery near 359
Polycarp, life of 65
Pope, title of 191
Porphyry's attack on Christianity 52
Possessor, African bishop 325
Pothinus 66
Prædestinatus 324
Praxeas 118
Prayer 28; hours of 158, 387; standing or kneeling 386
Preaching 27, 155, 377
Predestination, see Pelagius and Pelagianism
Preface, liturgical 379
Prefectures of the Empire, 182
Presbyters 29, 126; election of 178
Primasius 224
Primian, Donatist bishop 344
Priscillian, his opinions 313 f.; his conventicles condemned 311; excommunicated 312; said to be Gnostic 313; put to death 314
Procession of Holy Spirit 280
Proclus preaches against Nestorius 286
Procopius of Gaza, life 223
Prohibited books 215
Prolix Exposition, the 265
Property of the Church 172, 326
Prophecy, liturgical 376
Proselytes to Judaism 11
Prosper of Aquitaine, champion of Augustinism 324
Protoktistæ 310
Province defined 182
Provincial councils 196
Prudentius 249
Psalter 387
Pseudonymous Jewish literature 11

Quadragesima 164, 396
Quadratus, Apologist 55

Rabulas of Edessa 290
Ravenna resists claims of Rome 194
Readers 129
Reccared, king 428
Rectors 180
Rimini, Council of 270
Ring in marriage 389
Roman Peace facilitated the spread of the Gospel 3
Rome, Christianity in 60; Church of 80; Primacy claimed for 139; diocese of 186; extension of power of 187; synod at (A.D. 341) 364; (A.D. 369?) 275; (A.D. 430) against Nestorius 288
Rogations 388
Rufinus, life 245; defends Origen 305; translates some of his works 306
Rule of Faith 111, 255; Nicene 261
Rupitæ 341

Sabas, laura founded by 354; Origenists in 308
Sabbath, observance of 160, 395
Sabellius 120
Sadducees 8
Saints, festivals of 165, 399, 405; intercession of 400; prayers for *Ib.*; relics of 401; devotions at tombs of 402
Salama, Abba 415
Samaritans 9
Sanctus 379
Saragossa, Council of (A.D. 380) 311
Sarcophagi 412
Sardica, Council of, on appeals to the Pope 187; acquits Athanasius 265
Saturnilus 100
Saxons in Britain 434
Scholæ 165
Scotland, now Ireland 435
Scripture, Canon of 108, 252; inspiration of 254; allegorical interpretation of 254; reading of 388; translation of, Latin 75, 109, 243, 431; Syriac 298, n. 3; Æthiopic 416; Armenian 418; Gothic 423
Sculpture 412
Scythian monks in Constantinople 325
Seleucia, Council of 270
Semiarian party 262
Seneca 6
Sermons 378
Sethiani 101
Severiani, Gnostic 101; heretical 299
Severus, bishop, in Britain 434
Severus, emperor, his syncretism 42
Sick and dying, care of 390
Simeon Stylites 353
Simon Magus at Samaria 15, 32; as Gnostic 99
Sirmium, Councils of 267, 269
Society, improvement of, by Christianity 334; failings of 336
Soleas 408
Solitaries 353
Spain, Christianity in 60
Sponsors 152
Staff (episcopal) 384
Stations 161
Statues 412
Stephen's, St, preaching and death 15
Stoicism 6
Stole 384
Stylitæ 353
Sub-deacons 130
Substance (ὑπόστασις) and essence 279
Suevi, Arian 424
Sunday 160, 395
Superstitions 337
Sursum Corda 379
Syria, Christianity in 59
Symbolum 370, n. 1
Symeon, death of 40
Symeon of Ctesiphon 417
Syncelli 176
Synesius 235
Synods 137

Tabenna, cœnobium at 354
Tatian, his attack on the Greeks 56; becomes Gnostic 100
Telemachus causes abolition of shows of gladiators 334
Tertullian, life 76; Apology 57; becomes Montanist 95
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 86

Tetraditæ 310
Teutons, religion of 419; conversion of 420
Thaddæus, St 26
Themistius 299
Theoderic appealed to by the Pope 191
Theodora 300
Theodore of Mopsuestia, life 220; his opinions on the Incarnation 283
Theodoret, life 221; writes against Cyril 288; draws up Confession of Faith 289
Theodorus Ascidas 301
Theodosius, emperor, condemns heresy 277
Theodosius the monk causes trouble at Jerusalem 295
Theophilus to Autolycus 56
Theophilus of Alexandria condemns Origen 307; hostile to Chrysostom 308
Theophilus of Diu 416
Thomas, St 26
Thrace, Christianity in 60
Tichonius, Donatist, schism of 343
Timotheus Aelurus at Alexandria 296
Timotheus Salophaciolus 296
Toledo independent of Rome 195; councils of (A.D. 447, 589) 428
Toleration, Edict of 47
Tonsure 394
Tradition of the Church 254
Traditores 338
Trajan's Rescript to Pliny 39
Translation of bodies of saints 404
Tria Capitula 301
Trinity, the Holy, doctrine of 115, 256
Trisagion interpolated by Peter the Fuller 296
Triumphal arch 408
Tyre, Synod of 263

Ulfilas, bishop 421; works among the Goths 422; translates Scriptures 423; dies *Ib.*
Unction of sick 27, 391
Ursacius of Singidunum 268, 270

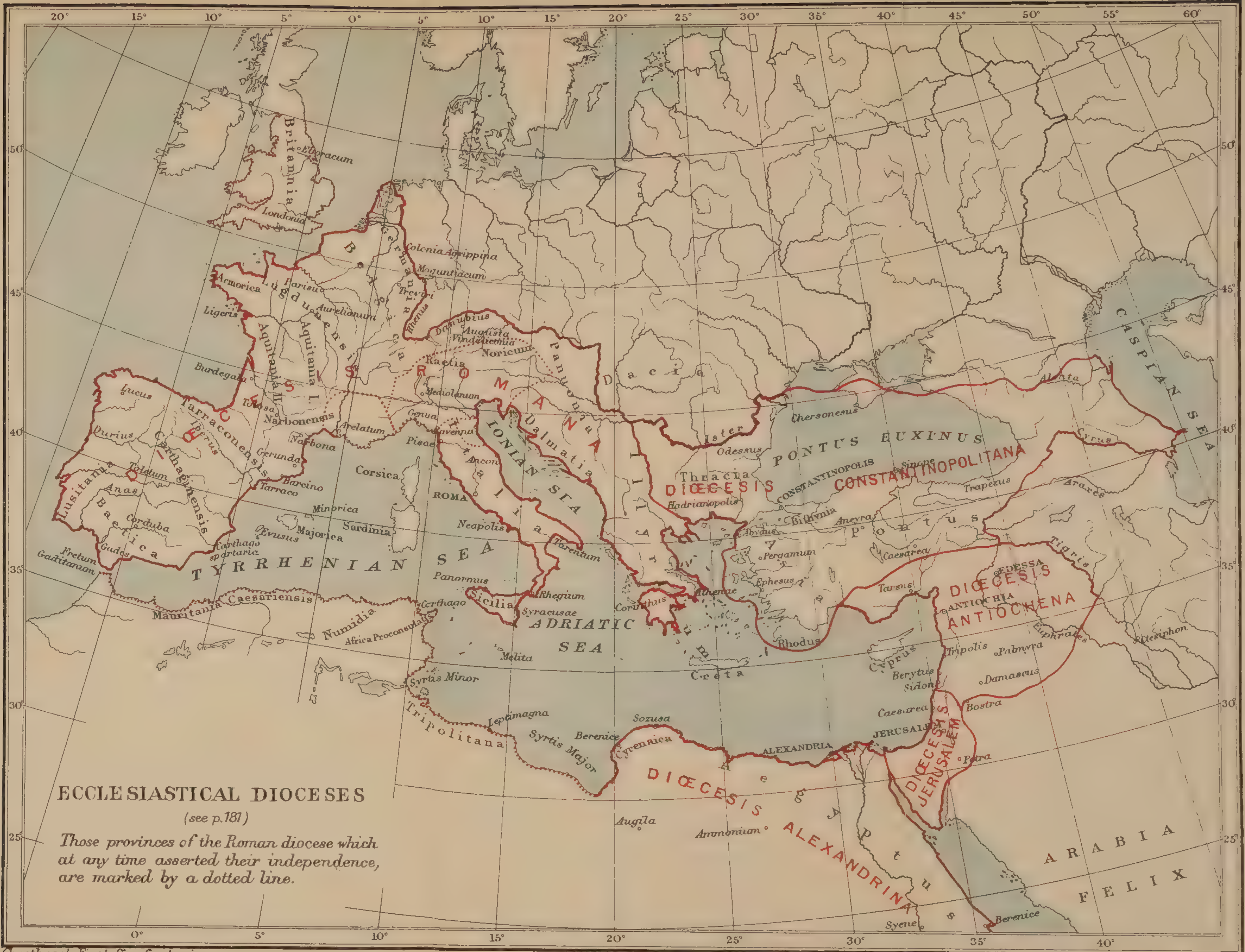
Valence, Council of (c. A.D. 529) 326
Valens of Mursa 268, 270
Valens and Valentinian, emperors 275; Valens favours Arianism 276; death 277
Valentinus, Gnostic 100
Vandals, Arian, overthrown 424
Veil in marriage 389
Vestments, liturgical 383
Victorius, Paschal cycle of 396
Vigils 165
Vigilius becomes Pope 301; his *Judicatum Ib.*
Vincentius of Lerins opposed to Predestination 322; his test of heresy 323
Vivariense Monasterium 365
Virgin, the Blessed 403
Votive offerings 403

Wednesday, a station 161
Week, the Christian 395; Holy 397
West-Goths in Spain become Catholic 427
Whithorn, church at 435
Whitsuntide 164
Wine, in Eucharist, mixed with water 382
Wreath on head of corpse 391

Yezdegerd, king, favours Christians 417

Zeno, emperor, his Henoticon 297
Zephyrinus's Christology 119
Zosimus, Pope, restores Pelagius 319; condemns him *Ib.*; on the claims of Rome 189
Zülpich, battle of 425

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.



ECCLESIASTICAL DIOCESES

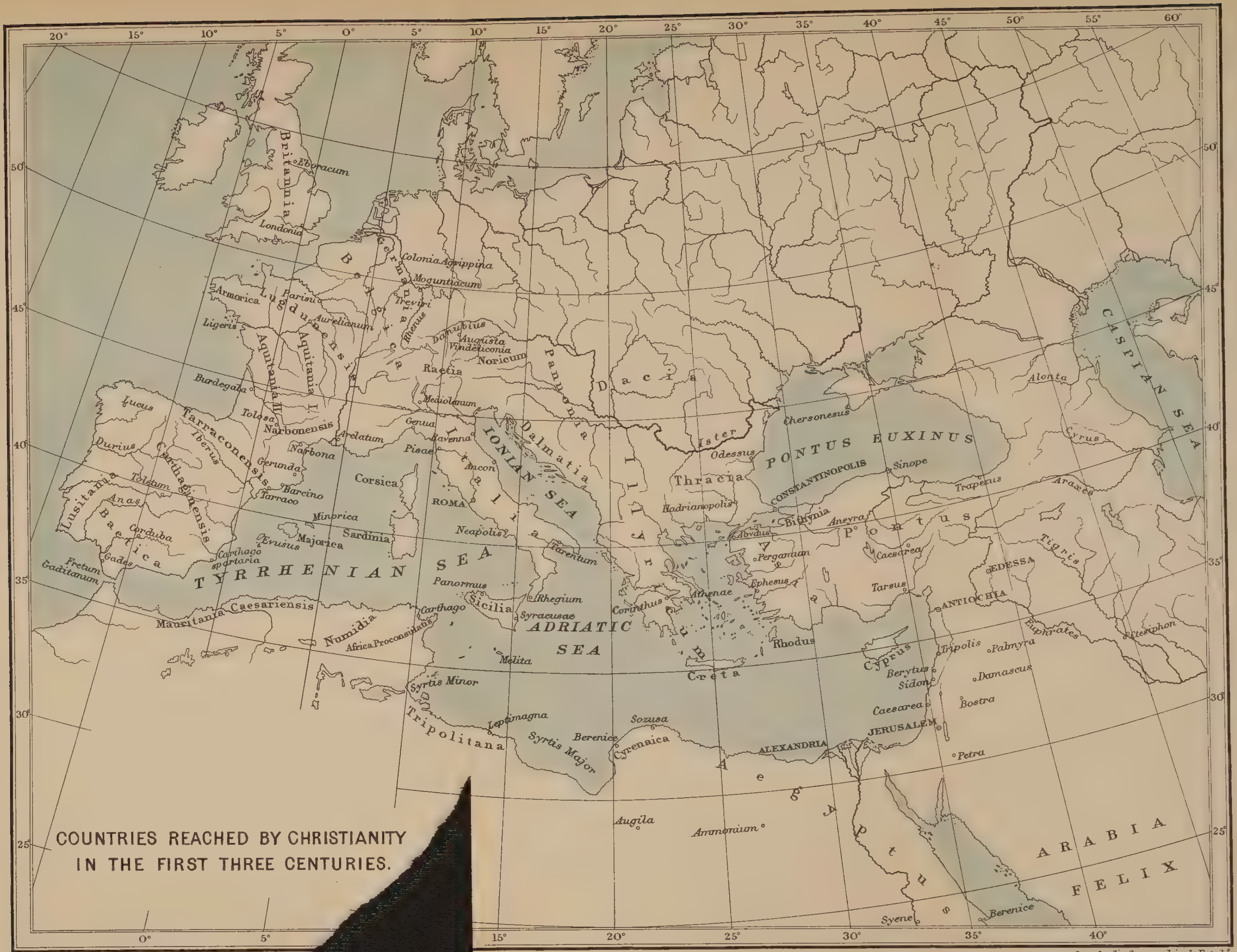
(see p.181)

Those provinces of the Roman diocese which at any time asserted their independence, are marked by a dotted line.

Cheetham's First Six Centuries.

Stanford's Geographical Estabᵗ

London: Macmillan & Cᵒ Lᵗᵈ



COUNTRIES REACHED BY CHRISTIANITY IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

Cheetham's First Six Centuries.

Stanford's Geographical Estab!

London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

46781 (Hist.) 270.1P
Cheetham, S. C415
c2
History of the Christian

270.1P 46781
C415
c2